
BIBLIOTHECA INDICA

'AIN-I-ĀKBARI

OF

ABUL FAZL-I-'ĀLLAMI

VOL. III

(An encyclopaedia of Hindu philosophy, science, literature and customs, with the life of the Author and Akbar's wise sayings)

Translated into English

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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Colonel Jarrett's English translation of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol III (first published in 1893-'96) has been long out of print, though there is always a demand for it and second-hand copies are now selling at fancy prices But a mere reprint of his edition would not do justice to the present state of Oriental scholarship and would naturally disappoint the modern reader Jarrett began the preparation of his translation about 1890, that is fully 57 years ago Among the authorities he most frequently quotes in his notes are D'Herbelot's *Bibliotheque Orientale* (1697 A D), D'Ohsson's *Histoire des Mongols* (1834), De Guignes's *Histoire Generale des Huns* (1756), Max Muller's *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1859), Davies's *Hindu Philosophy* Colebrooke's *Essays* (1805-37) and Elphinstone's *History of India* (1841)

Since then a complete revolution in our knowledge of these branches of orientology has been effected by the publication of Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, the *Grundriss* (Indo-Aryan ed by Buhler and Iranian by Geiger and Kuhn), Winternitz's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, and the histories of Hindu Philosophy by Radhakrishnan and S N Das Gupta, besides many learned special monographs In Oriental geography, the work of the modern French and German explorers in Arabia, Persia, Syria and Africa is, except for one or two of the earliest published, entirely unrepresented in Jarrett's notes, and how valuable their information is we can judge by contrasting his remarks on any place-name with the account of it given in the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.

Thus, the first task of an editor of Jarrett's translation is to modernise his notes and elucidations by sweeping away his heaps of dead leaves My second aim has been to lighten the burden of his notes, many of which are not only obsolete in information but prolix to the extent of superfluity It is, I hold, a mistake of the translator's duty to try to make a modern reader get all his ideas of Hindu philosophy, literature, science and mythology, or Islamic hagiography, topography and science from an English translation of Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*,

Abul Fazl's original work was meant to serve as a handy encyclopædia for readers of Persian who knew no other language and had no access to standard works even in the Persian and Arabic languages The modern reader, versed in English, will find very much fuller and far more accurate information on these subjects in the voluminous encyclopædias and standard monographs in the English language which have been published in our own times The law of copyright would probably not permit me to transfer column after column of matter from these modern works to my footnotes, as Jarrett has done with the works of D'Herbelot and other antiquated sources I have, therefore, totally omitted his lengthy quotations from these authors and given instead exact page references to the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, the *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* and other modern authorities, which are available to serious students in the libraries of learned societies and Universities

I have also economised space and saved the reader from frequent unnecessary interruptions by the omission of the notes on the emendations of the printed Persian text made by the translator The editing of many of the volumes in the Persian and Arabic section of the Bibliotheca Indica series was not done with the necessary care and accuracy, as learned circles have found to their vexation Therefore all obvious misprints and wrong readings have been silently corrected in this new edition of the translation and hundreds of notes of the first edition under this head eliminated For example, on p 68, we had "Lakhnauti, in Bengal" followed by the translator's note 'The text has *Nek* for *Bang*" Such errors, due to the careless placing of dots (*nuqta*) by copyists or proof-readers, are too obvious to raise any doubt, this note has been excluded by me as unnecessary But in every really important case, where the emendation of the text raises a vital question or leaves room for difference of opinion, the notice of such emendation has been retained in the new edition

Abul Fazl's copyists or their successors made many errors and omissions in the matter of the latitude and longitude of places, all of which were corrected with meticulous care by Jarrett, I have retained all his corrections but dropped his references to the errors in the Persian text On p 104, Jarrett himself admits in despair, "The whole (geographical) list of Abul Fazl is the work of a scribe, not of a geographer"

Abul Fazl's professed aim in writing the *Ain-i-Akbari* was to give the Persian-reading world of his day a clear idea of the literature, philosophy, arts and sciences of the Hindus, and the saints and heroes of India, but he also tried to adorn the subject by giving a brief account of the Muslim world, both in and out of India,—by means of a short compilation from well-known Arabic and Persian authorities composed outside India The portions of the *Ain* which serve the second purpose, make no claim to originality and have no historical value, their accuracy is vitiated by Abul Fazl's possession of very poor manuscripts of the Arabic works used by him It is therefore not worth the while to note every one of the mistakes he (or his copyists) made for this reason

No remark made above should be taken to cast any reflection on Col Jarrett's scholarship or belittle the stupendous task that he accomplished with immense industry and deep and varied learning,—combining the wisdom of the East and the West,—in translating and annotating the *Ain-i-Akbari*, volumes II and III He had to translate a very difficult book from a few badly transcribed and unhelpful texts, and to throw light on a wide range of technical subjects current in the middle ages but now obscure

As will be seen, I have ventured to differ from him and given my own version in only four cases of importance,—*viz*, the trick for curing gluttony (p 432 of this edition), Alexander's stratagem against Porus (p 440), the benefits of hunting (p 451), and Akbar's principles of marriage (p 449), the remaining examples of change are mostly verbal In all other places the changes made in the present edition consist merely of the omission of obsolete or useless notes, the compression of prolix or partly irrelevant ones, and the modernisation of the information in all the notes that remain Jones's translation of the *Hitopadesa* (p 438, *note* 11), has been corrected as he had dropped the word *iba* (= as if) of the original Sanskrit verse The next most noticeable difference in this edition is the omission of all Greek extracts and literary quotations from Latin This change has been rendered necessary by the difference between the class of readers whom Jarrett had in view in 1890* and those who will mostly consult this second edition of 1947 The present conditions of paper supply and printing in Calcutta

* On p 54 of his edition, Jarrett, in referring to the holy city of Medinah, distinguished it not by the English epithet of the 'best known' nor by the French phrase *par excellence*, but by a Greek phrase meaning the same thing and printed in Greek type!

made such compression and omission necessary, if this edition was to be printed at all

Abul Fazl, unlike Al Biruni, admittedly had no personal knowledge of the Greek and Sanskrit languages Therefore, with Sachau s English version of Al Biruni in our hands, we do not require the detailed correction or amplification of Abul Fazl's notes on Indian science and philosophy down to the time of Al Biruni, where the ground is better covered by that greater scholar The real value of the *Ain-i-Akbari* lies in what it tells us about India under Muslim rule after Al Biruni's time (c 1020 A D) and the much ampler details about Hindu philosophy and manners that Abul Fazl derived from the pandits engaged for his "Imperial Gazetteer ' by order of Akbar This latter portion alone has been fully annotated in the present edition

The considerable amount of space saved by the rejection of hundreds of useless notes and the compression of many others of the first edition, has been put to a better use by employing a larger type and clearer spacing This is of a special value in a book bristling with oriental proper names and technical terms The reader of this new edition will, I hope, also appreciate the help that I have tried to provide for him by dividing the book into numbered chapters and sections, and adding descriptive section headings and summaries of contents, in imitation of the device employed in Professor Cornford's recent translation of Plato s *Republic*, which has been highly commended in England

The elaborate system of transliteration at present followed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in its *Journal*, could not be observed in this edition for three reasons (1) The Society has changed its system several times during the last sixty years, so that no particular method can be rightly regarded as definite and final In the case of a long volume in the Bibliotheca Indica series which has been issued in periodical fasciculi and completed after many years, (such as Beveridge's translation of the *Akbarnamah*), two different methods of romanising Oriental words are found in the earlier and latter parts of the same book !

(2) Jarrett has not been uniform in his system of transliteration in this volume and his system (or systems) are not the one ruling in the Society at present He represents *ḳāf-i-qalmun* sometimes by *ḳ* with a dot below it, and sometimes by *q* His *'ain* is *a* with a dot below it, and his *hamza* is *a* with an inverted comma, and so

on. If we had to follow the latest system of romanisation throughout this second edition, the press-copy prepared from the printed first edition would have been scrapped up and the whole book typed again and the typescript collated with infinite labour Hence, too, certain breaches of uniformity on some pages

(3) Only two presses here possess all the diacritical marks, and they can use them only in hand setting up, while linotype composition was considered necessary for this edition To get over this difficulty, I have been compelled to follow a simple and practical method of romanising, using only two diacritical marks, namely *ā* for the long vowel and an inverted comma to mark *'ain*, while the two *ḳāfs* have been represented by *q* and *ḳ* respectively But no distinction could be made between the two *t*'s, the two *h*'s, the three *s*'s, and the four *z*'s of the Arabic alphabet , nor has the underlining and underdotting of letters been possible As this is not a book on Arabic philology, the general reader will hardly feel any loss from the absence of the host of diacritical marks, while the learned will be easily able to trace the Persian (or Sanskrit) equivalents of the words in question, as they are mostly well-known

The index has been prepared by Prof N B Roy Instead of giving merely the names of places and persons or oriental terms without any explanation as in the index of the Ist edition, he has tried to help the reader by inserting the positions of places and the English renderings of most of the oriental words, besides plenty of cross references (e g , *Yajna* and *Sacrifice*, *Jyotisha* and *Astronomy*, &c) In order to save paper the obscure place and personal names which occur only once in the book have been omitted in my index For the same reason, only the significant portions of Jarrett's preface to the third volume are reprinted below

Dec 1947 JADUNATH SARKAR

ABUL FAZL AND AL BIRUNI COMPARED—THE GREAT MERITS OF THE *Ain-i-Akbari*

The range and diversity of its subjects (*i e* , of the *Ain-i-Akbari*) and the untiring industry which collected and marshalled, through the medium of an unfamiliar language, the many topics of information to their minutest details, treating of abstruse sciences, subtile philosophical problems, and the customs, social, political and religious of a different race and creed, will stand as an enduring

monument of his learned and patient diligence Though there is much to be desired, his comprehensive and admirable survey yet merits the highest praise

He laboured under the disadvantage of unfamiliarity with Sanskrit, and he had to take the statements of his Pandits tested through translations at second-hand He found his Hindu informants, as he says, of a retrograde tendency, spinning like silk worms, a tissue round themselves, immeshed in their own opinions, conceding the attainment of truth to no other, while artfully insinuating their own views, till the difficulty of arriving at any correct exposition of their system left him in a bewilderment of despair His description of the nine Schools of Philosophy has the merit of being, as far as it goes, scrupulously precise

After a careful study of both these authors (Al Biruni and Abul Fazl), I am the more convinced that Abul Fazl borrowed the idea and arrangement of his work from his great predecessor I have shown in his account of the Sarkār of Kābul instances of direct plagiarism from the Memoirs of Baber, and in his lives of Moslem Saints in the third Volume, verbatim extracts without acknowledgment from the Sufic hagiography of Jāmi' The same volume displays other examples suggestive rather than definite, of his indebtedness to an author whom he never names The difference between the two men in this particular is most remarkable Al Biruni's reading was far more extensive and scholarly The Sanskrit sources of his chapters are almost always given, and Sachau's preface has a list of the many authors quoted by him on astronomy, chronology, geography, and astrology He was also acquainted with Greek literature through Arabic translations, and in comparing its language and thought and those of Hindu metaphysics, selects his quotations from the Timaeus and its commentator the Neo-Platonist Proclus, with judgment and rare ability And he rarely fails to record his authorities With Abul Fazl it is the reverse He rarely names them, and borrows from every side without scruple as without avowal The difference in the manner of the two authors is not less conspicuous Al Biruni quotes freely from his authorities, and where these seem to exaggerate or to be inaccurate, his citations are followed by some sharp brief commentary which gives a ceaseless interest to his pages

His treatment of these topics is throughout scholarly, showing extensive reading and precision of thought acquired by a study of

the exact sciences Abul Fazl, on the contrary, transcribes either from existing works or from oral communication His compilation is extremely careful and carried out with the most laborious and marvellous exactitude, but it is unenlivened by those masterly criticisms which give Al Biruni his unique position among Eastern writers .

When all is said, however, which a strict impartiality must weight in counterpoise to Abul Fazl's sterling merits, there remains ample justification for the high place held by this great work in the West as well as the East, and as a record of the extension of the Mughal empire of India under the greatest of its monarchs and the ability with which it was administered, it must always remain of permanent and fascinating interest It crystallizes and records in brief, for all time, the state of Hindu learning, and besides its statistical utility, serves as an admirable treatise of reference on numerous branches of Brahmanical science and on the manners, beliefs, traditions, and indigenous lore, which for the most part still retain and will long continue their hold on the popular mind Above all, as a register of the fiscal areas, the revenue settlements and changes introduced at various periods, the harvest returns, valuations and imposts throughout the provinces of the empire, its originality is as indisputable as its surpassing historical importance The concluding account of the author and his family and the persecutions to which they were subjected will, perhaps, be read with as much interest as any other portion of the work

H S JARRETT

Calcutta, 17th May, 1894

ETHNOGRAPHY OF HINDUSTAN

Prefatory Remarks

[The author's object in writing this account is to show that the Hindu religion has true and sublime conceptions of the Deity]

[P 1] It has long been the ambitious desire of my heart to pass in review to some extent, the general conditions of this vast country, and to record the opinions professed by the majority of the learned among the Hindus I know not whether the love of my native land has been the attracting influence or exactness of historical research and genuine truthfulness of narrative, for Banākiti, Hāfiz Abru and other ancient chroniclers have indulged in vain imaginings and recorded stories that have no foundation in fact Nor were the motives altogether these, but rather that when I had arisen from the close retirement of studious application and discovered somewhat of the ignorance and dissensions of men I formed the design of establishing peace and promoting concord My original desire now renewed its possession of me, but a multiplicity of occupations prevented its gratification until the turns of fate brought about the composition of this striking record which has already branched out into such numerous details Although my pen had occupied itself with the description of the Subahs and had briefly recorded the annals of Hindustan, and now that the ambition of my heart had attained the time of its realisation, not content with [P. 2] the information I had already acquired, I had recourse to the knowledge of others and set myself to gather instruction from men of true learning. As I was unfamiliar with the science of terms in the Sanskrit language and a competent interpreter was not available, the labour of repeated translations had to be undertaken, until by good fortune and my own steadfastness of purpose, my object was at length

attained It then became clear that the commonly received opinion that Hindus associate a plurality of gods with the One Supreme Being has not the full illumination of truth, for although with regard to some points and certain conclusions, there is room for controversy, yet the worship of one God and the profession of His Unity among this people appeared facts convincingly attested [1] It was indispensable in me, therefore, to bring into open evidence the system of philosophy, the degrees of self-discipline, and the gradations of rite and usage of this race in order that hostility towards them might abate and the temporal sword be stayed awhile from the shedding of blood, that dissensions within and without be turned to peace and the thornbrake of strife and enmity bloom into a garden of concord Assemblies for the discussion of arguments might then be formed and gatherings of science suitably convened

[The various causes of misunderstanding and quarrels between different religions in India]

Notwithstanding that at all periods of time, excellent resolutions and well-intentioned designs are to be witnessed and the extent of the world is never lacking in prudent men, why does misunderstanding arise and what are the causes of contention?

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[1] This is confirmed by Colebrooke The real doctrine of the Indian Scripture is the unity of the Deity, in whom the universe is comprehended , and the seeming polytheism which it exhibits, offers the elements and the stars and planets as gods The three principal manifestations of the divinity, with other personified attributes and most of the other gods of Hindu mythology, are indicated in the Veda But the worship of deified heroes is no part of the system nor are the incarnations of deities suggested in any portion of the text which I have yet seen, though such are sometimes hinted at by commentators " H H Wilson in commenting on this passage admits that the worship of the Vedas is for the most part domestic, addressed to unreal presences and not to visible types, and not idolatry *Vishnu P* Pref ii [H S J] See also Max Muller on *henotheism*, and Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, vi 283 and 289 , viii 810-811 [*J Sarkar*]

The *First* cause is the diversity of tongues and the misapprehension of mutual purposes, and thus the alloy of ill-will is introduced and the dust of discord arises

Secondly, the distance that separates the learned of Hindustan from scientific men of other nationalities who thus are unable to meet, and if chance should bring them together, the need of an interpreter would preclude any practical result An accomplished linguist capable of mastering the intricacies of science and the abstruse speculations of philosophy among various nations and competent to give them luminous and efficient expression, is very rare Even at the present time, when through His Majesty's patronage of learning and his appreciation of merit, the erudite of all countries are assembled, and apply themselves with united effort in the pursuit of truth, so proficient a person is not to be found Such as thirst after the sweet waters of wisdom and who leaving their native land undertake the wanderings of travel and with diligent assiduity employ their energies in the acquisition of various languages, are indeed uncommon It needs a seeker such as Anushirwān, who amidst the pomp of empire should yet search for the jewel of wisdom, and a minister like Buzurjmihr, void of envy, as his counsellor, and both king and minister combined, to discover a coadjutor so unique and one so upright and intelligent as the physician Barzawaih, and then to send him with abundant means disguised as a merchant to Hindustan in order that with this capital stock-in-trade he might obtain the interest of acquired wisdom; and again this sagacious personage, making no distinction between the absence or presence of his employers, must be diligent in his inquiries and succeed in the accomplishment of his desire through the frankness of his demeanour and his largesse of gold Or the occasion would demand an indefatigable and lofty intellect like that of Tumtum the Indian, who to receive the instruction of the divine philosopher Plato, passed from Hindustan into Greece and freighting

his caravans with the requisites of travel, set himself to face the dangers of seas and deserts, and with the medicinal simples of wisdom perfected his spiritual health and the harmonious [P. 3] balance of his soul. Or a powerful mind and vigorous body such as Abu Maashar of Balkh, enamoured of wisdom, who holding exile and his native country and toil and ease undissociated, travelled into India from Khorāsān and garnered a store of knowledge at Benares and carried it as a gift of price to the learned of his own land

Thirdly, the absorption of mankind in the delights of corporeal gratification, for men regard the absence of beauty in an object as placing it beyond the pale of existence and therefore not to be thought of as worth acquisition or productive of enjoyment. Their fastidiousness is averse from listening to accounts of foreign peoples even by way of apologue. And forasmuch as their moral obliquity refuses to lend an ear and the glitter of this deceptive world lets fall a veil of ignorance before their eyes, what must be their state and how may grace illumine for them the lamp of guidance?

Fourthly, indolence Men account what is ready to hand as more precious than the chance of future possession and prefer ease to exertion They will not undertake the trouble of profound investigation, and content with a superficial view, will not move a span's length to acquire a deeper insight He alone is the true promoter of wisdom who, setting before his resolve the investigation of the concealed beauties of meaning, under the guidance of assiduous research and undaunted desire, plants his foot in the dread wilds of research, and reaches the goal of his ambition undismayed by countless labours, sustaining the burden of the road by the force of capacity on the shoulders of his ever resolute will.

Fifthly, the blowing of the chill blast of inflexible custom and the low flicker of the lamp of wisdom From immemorial time the exercise of inquiry has been restricted, and questioning and investigation have been regarded as precursors

of infidelity. Whatever has been received from father, director, kindred, friend or neighbour, is considered as a deposit under Divine sanction and a malcontent is reproached with impiety or irreligion Although the few among the intelligent of their generation admit the imbecility of this procedure in others, yet will they not stir one step in a practical direction themselves

[It is only by meeting on a common platform of study and discussion that different religions can be correctly understood and their true worth appreciated This book will promote that aim]

Sixthly, the uprising of the whirlwind of animosity and the storms of persecution have stayed the few earnest inquirers from uniting to discuss their individual tenets and from meeting in friendly assemblies in a spirit of sympathy, and from distinguishing[2] commonalty of bond from vital estrangement, under the guidance of impartiality, in order that error may be severed from truth and the why and the wherefore weighed in the scales of sound judgment Even just monarchs, unconscious of their obligations, have herein neglected them Arrogance and self-interest have intervened and occasions of intercourse have been marred by perplexities Some have taken refuge in silence, others have found evasion in obscurity of language, while others again have extricated themselves by time-serving utterances If temporal rulers had interested themselves in this matter and assuaged the apprehensions of men, assuredly many enlightened persons would have delivered their real sentiments with calmness of mind and freedom of expression Through the apathy of princes, each sect is bigoted to its own creed and dissensions [P. 4] have waxed high Each one regarding his own persuasion as alone true, has set himself to the persecution of

[2] I select a variant relegated to the notes, in place of the text, and amend the doubtful reading that follows by omitting the *be* before *āzaram* With this alteration the difficulty is cleared and its simplicity recommends the correction

other worshippers of God, and the shedding of blood and the ruining of reputation have become symbols of religious orthodoxy. Were the eyes of the mind possessed of true vision, each individual would withdraw from this indiscriminating turmoil and attend rather to his own solicitudes than interfere in the concerns of others Amidst such unseemly discord, main purposes are set aside and arguments disregarded If the doctrine of an enemy be in itself good, why should hands be stained in the blood of its professors? And even were it otherwise, the sufferer from the malady of folly deserves commiseration, not hostility and the shedding of his blood

Seventhly, the prosperity of wretches without principle who deceitfully win acceptance by affected virtue and rectitude Such as these do much harm and truths are obscured through unrecognition.

Cease, Abul Fazal, cease! The manifestations of divine wrath are illimitable and infinite are the marvels of their record Loose not thy hand from the cord of peace seized by thy good intention Follow out thy long projected design Though some of thy hearers will attain to wisdom and meet in rejoicing union, yet many will fall into sorrows and reap bewilderment Thanks be to God that thou art not a hostage to the lament of ignorance nor the extoller of those that are in bonds.

CHAPTER I

THE BOUNDARIES OF HINDUSTAN AND A BRIEF DESCRIPTION THEREOF

INDIA—ITS BOUNDARIES, SEASONS, NATURAL BEAUTY, AND CROPS

Hindustan is described as enclosed on the east, west and south by the ocean, but Ceylon, Achin, the Moluccas, Malacca and a considerable number of islands are accounted within its extent To the north is a lofty range of mountains, part of which stretches along the uttermost limits of Hindustan, and its other extremity passes into Turkestan and Persia An intermediate region lies between this and the vast frontiers[1] of China, inhabited by various races, such as Kashmir, Great and Little Tibet, Kishtāwar and others This quarter may therefore be likened to another ocean With all its magnitude of extent and the mightiness of its empire it is unequalled in its climate, its rapid succession of harvests and the equable temperament of its people. Notwithstanding its vast size, it is cultivated throughout You cannot accomplish a stage nor indeed travel a *kos* without meeting with populous towns and flourishing villages, nor without being gladdened by the sight of sweet waters, delightful verdure and enchanting downs In the autumn and throughout the depth of winter the plains are green and the trees in foliage During the rainy season which extends from the close of the Sun's stay in Gemini to his entry into the sign of Virgo[2], the elasticity of the atmosphere is enough to transport the most dispirited and lend the vigour of youth to old age Shall I praise the refulgence of its skies or the marvellous fertility of its soil?

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[1] Lit , Chin and Māchin, feigned or believed by Orientals to be the descendants of Japhet and applied by metonymy to express the full extent of the Chinese dominions

[2] Middle of June to end of August.

[Noble character of the people of India, monotheism the universal root of their religious belief, while their image-worship is not idolatry, but an "aid to fixing the mind and keeping the thoughts from wandering"]

Shall I describe the constancy of its inhabitants or record their benevolence of mind? Shall I portray the beauty that charms the heart or sing of purity unstained? Shall I tell of heroic valour or weave romances of their vivacity of intellect and their lore? The inhabitants of this land are religious, affectionate, hospitable, genial and frank They are fond of scientific pursuits, inclined to austerity of life, seekers after justice, contented, industrious, capable in affairs, loyal, truthful and constant The true worth of this people shines most in the day of adversity and its soldiers know not retreat from the field When the day is doubtful, they dismount from their steeds and resolutely put their lives to hazard, accounting the dishonour of flight more terrible than death, while some even disable their horses before entering the fight

They are capable of mastering the difficulties of any subject in a short space of time and surpass their instructors, and to win the Divine favour they will spend body and soul and joyfully devote their lives thereunto They one and all believe in the unity of God, and as to the reverence they pay to images of stone and wood and the like, which simpletons regard as idolatry, it is not so The writer of these pages has exhaustively discussed the subject with many enlightened and upright men, and it became evident that these images of some chosen souls nearest in approach to the throne of God, are fashioned as aids to fix the mind and keep the thoughts from wandering, while the worship of God alone is required as indispensable In all their ceremonial observances and usage they ever implore the favour of the world-illumining sun and regard the pure essence of the Supreme Being as transcending the idea of power in operation.

Brahmā, of whom mention was formerly made, they hold to be the Creator; Vishnu, the Nourisher and Preserver; and Rudra, called also Mahādeva, the Destroyer. Some maintain that God who is without equal, manifested himself under these three divine forms, without thereby sullying the garment of His inviolate sanctity, as the Nazarenes hold of the Messiah. Others assert that these were human creatures exalted to these dignities through perfectness of worship, probity of thought and righteousness of deed. The godliness and self-discipline of this people is such as is rarely to be found in other lands.

They hold that the world had a beginning, and some are of opinion that it will have an end, as will be mentioned hereafter.

An astonishing circumstance is this, that if an alien wishes to enter the Brahman caste, they would not accept him, and were one of these to adopt another religion and subsequently desire to revert to his own, he would not be suffered so to do save in case of his apostasy under compulsion. They have no slaves When they go forth to battle or during an attack by an enemy, they collect all their women in one building, and surround it with wood and straw and oil, and place on guard some trusty relentless men, who set fire to it when those engaged in fight despair of life, and these chaste women vigilant of their honour are consumed to death with unflinching courage.

In times of distress, moreover, should any one, though unconnected by ties of intimacy, implore their protection, they are prompt to aid and grudge neither property, life nor reputation in his cause[3].

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[3] The same things were observed by the Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang in the 7th century. 'The ordinary people, although they are naturally light-minded, yet they are upright and honourable . They are faithful to their oaths and promises In their behaviour there is much gentleness and sweetness" (Beal, i 83) And of the Marathas: "The disposition of the people is honest and

It was also the custom in former times for each warrior in battle to challenge a foe and to encounter none other than him [P. 6]

[The Soil and its Produce—Arts and Crafts of the People of Hindustan]

The soil is for the most part arable and of such productive power that the same land is sown each year and in many places three harvests and more are taken in a single twelvemonth and the vine bears fruit in its first year.

Mines of diamond, ruby, gold, silver, copper, lead and iron abound The variety of its fruits and flowers proclaim its luxuriance. Its perfumes and melodies, its viands and raiment are choice and in profusion Its elephants cannot be sufficiently praised, and in parts of the country the horses resemble Arabs in breed and the cattle are uncommonly fine But for its lack of cooled water, its excessive heats, the scarcity of grapes, melons and carpets, and of camels, it was open to the cavils of the experienced [4] His Majesty has remedied these deficiencies Saltpetre is now extensively used for its cooling properties, and high and low appreciate the benefit of snow and ice brought down from the northern mountains There is a slender fragrant root called khas (the odoriferous grass *Andropogon Muricatum*) of which, under His Majesty's instructions, the fashion of constructing trellised chambers has come into vogue, and upon this if water be sprinkled, another winter arises amid the summer heats Skilled hands from Turkestan and Persia under His Majesty's patronage, sowed melons and planted vines, and traders began to introduce in security the fruits of those countries, each in its season and with attention to their quality, which occasioned an abundance here when they were not procurable in their own. Through the favour of His Majesty, all

simple , to their benefactors they are grateful , to their enemies relentless If they are asked to help one in distress, they will forget themselves in their haste to render assistance." (ii 256) J S

products of art, and the manufacture of woollen and silken carpets and of brocades were extensively encouraged, and by means of the royal countenance so fine a breed of camels has been produced as to be equal to the dromedaries of 'Irāq.

A summary view of India having been now given, I shall proceed with more particularity, still proffering but little out of much and recording one among a thousand details.

The Cosmogony of the Hindus Stories of Creation

More than eighteen opinions on this point have been professed and extraordinary narratives put forward, and each describes a different genesis It will be sufficient to mention three of them The *first* is that God who has no equal, taking upon himself the form of man appeared under the special manifestation called *Brahma* already alluded to, and by his mere volition produced four sons, *Sanak*, *Sanandan*, *Sanātan*, and *Sanatkumār* Each of these was commanded to engage in acts of creation, but lost in rapture of contemplation in the divine essence they neglected to comply In anger, the Supreme being formed another design and came forth from his own forehead under another semblance and name as *Mahādeva* His sublime immensity unfitted him for creative action Ten[5] other sons issued from his volition and then from his body he fashioned the forms of male and female The former was called *Manu* and the latter Sata-rupā These two are the progenitors of mankind [P 7]

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[4] The reference is to Babur, who writes in his memoirs "Hindustan is a country of few charms, there are no good horses, no good dogs, no grapes, musk-melons or first-rate fruits, no ice or cold water There are no running waters in their gardens and residences" (Beveridge's tr 518 J S)

[5] A variant has, "two"—The text has incorrectly *Satruka*, for which error Abul Fazl is responsible The *Vishnu Purāna* says that he divided his male being into eleven persons Next he created himself the Manu Swayambhuva and the female portion of himself he constituted Sata-rupā whom the Manu took to wife There are also other complications of birth and intercourse which may be pursued by the curious in the Purāna itself, p 51 et seq

Secondly, it is maintained that God[6] the Creator of the world, manifested himself under the form of a woman whom they call *Mahā-Lachhmi* Three qualities are incorporated with her, *Satva, Raja* and *Tama* When she willed to create the world, through the instrumentality of *Tama*, she manifested herself under another form which is called *Mahā-Kāli* and also *Mahā-Māyā* By her union with *Satva*, a further genesis proceeded called *Saraswati*, and at her command each brought forth a male and female and these two forms she herself inspired with life Thus two beings were born of each From *Mahā-Lachhmi* sprung *Brahma* under the form of a man, and *Sri* under the guise of a woman who is also called *Sāvitri* From *Mahā-Kāli*, were brought forth *Mahā-deva* and *Tri* the latter of whom is also distinguished as *Mahā-bidya* and *Kāmdhenu*, and from *Saraswati* came forth *Vishnu* and *Gauri* When these six forms took birth, *Mahā-Lachhmi* proceeded to their conjugal union, and joined *Brahma* with *Tri*, *Gauri* with *Mahā-deva*, and *Sri* with *Vishnu* The conjunction of *Brahma* and *Tri* produced an egg[7] which *Mahā-deva* divided into two parts, from one of which originated the *devatās*, *daityas* and the like super-

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[6] Hari, the lord of all, called also Janardana (from *Jana*, 'men" and Arddana, 'worship'—'the object of adoration to mankind) He is the one only God, taking the designation of Brahma Vishnu and Siva, according as he creates, preserves or destroys —This is the invariable doctrine of the Purānas See Wilson, *Vishnu, P* p 19 The three qualities or attributes are shared by the Hindu Triad, Brahma being the embodiment of *Raja-guna*, the desire that created the world, Siva that of *Tama-guna*, the attribute of wrath, and Vishnu is *Satwa-guna* or the property of mercy and goodness

[7] The *Brahmānd* or egg of Brahma is applied by Albiruni to the whole æther on account of its supposed spherical shape and its division into upper and lower and he says that when the Hindus enumerate the heavens they call them in their entirety, *Brahmānd*

[The latest and best account of Hindu Cosmogony and Cosmology is the one by H Jacobi in Hastings's *Encyclo of Religion*, iv 155-160 Varāha-Mihir the author of *Surya-Siddhānta*, died in 587 A D The old notes of Jarrett based on Bentley have been omitted here J S]

natural beings, from the other, men, animals, and the vegetable and mineral worlds.

The *Third* opinion is accounted the most authentic. In the work called *Surya-Siddhānta* composed some hundreds of thousands of years ago, it is circumstantially related that towards the end of the *Satya-yuga*, flourished the great Demon Maya. That sage was lost in astonishment at the wonders of creation, and confounded by his own ignorance, applied himself to a supplication of the Sun to discover the mode in which creation was effected and passed some thousands of years in these entreaties and desires After he had undergone surpassing trials, that bestower of radiance on the heavens and the earth appeared to him under a beautiful form and asked him what he desired He said, "Draw back the veil from the marvels of the stars and the skies and from the mysteries of wisdom and illuminate the darkness of my understanding with the light of knowledge " It was answered "Thy desire shall be granted In a certain shrine unite in spirit with me and a celestial being shall appear and instruct you in wisdom " The seeker was comforted He waited in expectation at the shrine appointed and near the close of the *Satya-yuga*, the giver of his desire appeared The sage entered into much questioning regarding the mysteries of heaven and earth and received replies that satisfied him [8] The questions and answers were compiled in one volume under the name of the *Surya Siddhānta*, and to this day the astronomy, of entire Hindustān is based upon it In this work the origin of creation is said to be from the Sun, which is regarded as a divine manifestation The Almighty Creator of the world formed a hollow sphere of gold composed of two parts which he rendered luminous with somewhat of His own glory and it was called the Sun. The Sun produced the signs of the Zodiac and from the same source sprung the four *Vedas*, and afterwards the moon, the ethereal fluid, air, fire, water and earth, in this order From

the ether he produced Jupiter, from the air, Saturn; from fire, Mars, from water, Venus, and from the earth, Mercury Through the ten portals of the human frame-work he brought various matter into being The ten portals are thus numbered the two eyes, the two ears, the nose, the mouth, the navel, the anterior and posterior foramina, and the tenth, the crown of the head, which last is closed It opens, however, at the time of death in some of those who are about to quit life and body, and this is considered singularly auspicious His Majesty has increased the number of portals by the two breasts, and counts the number as twelve After a long course the human race became of four kinds as shall be presently related

On the Inferior and Superior Cosmic Phenomena

The Hindu philosophers maintain that the elements have a spherical form[8] and they have added Ether to the number They hold it to pervade all things and that no space is void of it They do not incline to the notion of a celestial substance (*āsmān*) but adopt the account of the spheres on the system of the Almagest of Ptolemy [9] The Zodiac is divided into twelve signs, each of which is termed "*rās*."

They are as follows —

1	Mesha	1	Aries
2	Vrisha	2	Taurus
3.	Mithuna	3	Gemini.
4	Karkata	4	Cancer

[8] The authorities for this are Arya-bhata, Vasistha and Lāta Albiruni, 26

Ether is so called by the Greeks from its being in perpetual flow Arist. *De Cælo*, iii

[9] Ptolemy's first book of the Almagest treats among other matters of the spherical form and motion of the heavens, the spherical form of the earth and its location in the centre of the heavens and of the two circular celestial motions which all the stars have in common

5. Sinha.	5. Leo.
6 Kanyā.	6 Virgo.
7 Tulā	7 Libra.
8. Vrischika.	8. Scorpio.
9. Dhanu	9. Sagittarius.
10. Makara [10]	10 Capricornus
11 Kumbha	11 Aquarius
12 Mina	12. Pisces

The Persian, Egyptian and Greek sages affirm the existence of a colourless body which is transparent and is not subject to growth, increase, decrease, disruption, conjunction nor dissolution, neither does it admit of tenuity nor density nor generation nor decay It is not compounded of bodies variously organised, neither is it affected by heat, cold, moisture, nor dryness, nor can lightness or gravity be predicated of it [9] It possesses life and continuity of existence, and is not subject to desire or anger It is called "asmān "[11] The general opinion is that the Universe (*to pān*) includes nine spheres, but some think eight, others, eleven,

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[10] Capricornus was represented on ancient monuments with the fore part of a goat and the hind part of a fish The Hindu *Makara*, according to the Sanskrit verses of Sripati, quoted by Sir W Jones, (I, 336) is a sea-monster with the face of an antelope The question at once presents itself as to the relative antiquity of the Greek and Indian Zodiacal signs [H S J] On the relation between Greek and Hindu astronomy, see Kaye in *J R A S*, 1910, p 759 and *J A S B*, 1911, p 813, and the volume on Astronomy in the *Grundriss* The relation between Hindu and Arab astronomy is best described briefly in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, xii 95, the writer of which article has treated the same subject again in *Ency Islam*, i 497-502 [J S]

[11] These are the attributes of the Pradhāna, (chief principle or primary crude matter) ascribed to it by the Sankhya philosophy It is independent and co-ordinate with primary spirit See *Vishnu P*, p 9 *et seq* The greater part of this passage is almost identical with the description of the word, *falk*, the Arabic equivalent of *āsmān*, in the *Istilāhāt u'l Funun*, pp 1134-5 quoted from the Hidāyat u'l Hikmat (Institutis philosophiæ recta) of Maibudi I have not been able to trace the passage in the latter work verbatim, but in scattered references only The notion is taken from Aristotle, *De Cælo*, iii

others, seven, and it is even affirmed that there is but a single Kosmos

The Hindu philosophers acknowledge the existence of the planets and fixed stars, but assert that their substance is of water[12] congealed like hail, and that they receive their light from the sun Others maintain that it is from the moon, and that these luminous bodies dominate the aspects of fortune They also hold the connection of a celestial spirit with each Some suppose the stars to be human beings, who by suppressing the emotions of anger and desire, and by mortification and moral beauty of life, have reached this exalted eminence

NAMES OF THE PLANETS[13] AND THE DAYS OF THE WEEK

Sanichar is Saturn (Saturday) *Brihaspati* is Jupiter (Thursday) *Mangal* is Mars (Tuesday) *Aditya*, the Sun (Sunday) The Hindus have more than a thousand names for the sun His Majesty knows by heart the whole of these and uses them in his prayers, but the name *Suraj* is the one in common use among all classes *Sukra* is Venus (Friday) *Budh* is Mercury (Wednesday) *Soma* is the Moon (Monday)

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[12] Albiruni mentions this in his LV Chap "The Hindus believe regarding the bodies of all the stars that they have a globular shape, a watery essence, and that they do not shine, whilst the sun alone is of fiery essence, self-shining and *per accidens* illuminates other stars when they stand opposite to him They reckon according to eyesight among the stars also, such luminous bodies as in reality are not stars, but the lights into which those men have been metamorphosed who have received eternal reward from God The *Vishnu-Dharma* says "The stars are watery and the rays of the sun illuminate them in the night Those who by their pious deeds have obtained a place on the height, sit there on their thrones, and when shining, they are reckoned among the stars!" Sachau's Trans II, 64

[13] The 19th Chap of Albiruni's *India* begins with the same subject and the similarity of treatment and expression, though not of the *order*, is so striking that, as I have before had occasion to observe, there is little doubt of Abul Fazl's indebtedness to this author Albiruni's handling of any subject he discusses is that of a philosopher who is master of it, Abul Fazl is purely the compiler and scribe

Each of these planets has several names, and each day of the week has a special connection with and is named after its planet, with the addition of the word '*wār.*' Thus, Sunday which begins the week is called *Aditya-wār;* Monday, *Soma-wār*, Tuesday, *Mangal-wār;* Wednesday, *Budh-wār;* Thursday, *Brihaspati-wār*, Friday, *Sukra-wār;* Saturday, *Sanichar-wār.*

THE INSTITUTION OF THE *Gharyāl*

This is a round gong of mixed metal,[14] shaped like a griddle but thicker, made of different sizes, and suspended by a cord It may not be sounded except by royal command, and accompanies the royal equipage

The Hindu philosophers divide the day and night into four parts, each of which they call *pahr* Throughout the greater part of the country, the *pahr* never exceeds nine *gharis* nor is less than six The *ghari* is the sixtieth part of a nychthemeron, and is divided into sixty parts, each of which is called a *pal* which is again subdivided into sixty *bipal*

In order to ascertain and indicate the time, a vessel of copper or other metal is made of a hundred *tānks*, weight In Persian it is called *pingān,* as an ancient sage sings,

[10] Why reck'st thou of a world whose span
A clepsydra doth mete to man?[15]

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[14] Lit *Haft-josh,* a metal compounded of iron, antimony, lead, gold, tin, copper and silver The ordinary bell-metal is an alloy of 80 parts of copper and 20 of tin, though some English bells have been found to consist of copper, tin, zinc and lead

[15] These lines are from *Hadiqah* of Hakim Sanāi, p 298, of the lithographed edition The clepsydra was known in Greece in the time of Aristophanes and was used for regulating the time allowed for speeches of accused persons before courts of justice But in this, the water was allowed to escape through the orifice of the vessel (See Lewis' *Ast of the Ancients,* p. 182)

It is in the shape of a bowl narrower at the lower part, twelve fingers in height and breadth. A perforation is made below to admit of a golden tube being passed through of the weight of one *Māshā*, and in length the breadth of five fingers. It is placed in a basin of pure water in a place undisturbed by the wind. When the bowl is full of water, one *ghari* is elapsed,[15a] and in order that this should be known to far and near, the gong is struck once, and for the second time, twice, and so on. When a *pahr* has elapsed, the number of *gharis* expired therein is first sounded and then more deliberately from one to four (according to the *pahr*), thus announcing the *pahr* struck. Thus when it is two *pahr*, (twelve o'clock), the gong is struck twenty-sixth times, taking the *pahr* at eight *gharis*. The Emperor Baber in his Memoirs writes "When at the end of a *pahr* a certain number of *gharis* had elapsed, this number was sounded while the *pahr* just expired was unknown. I ordered that the number of the *pahr* should be repeated after a brief interval." The Hindu philosophers account 360 breathings of a man in good health as a *ghari* of time, and each is formed of six inspirations and respirations, of which 21,600 are drawn in the course of a nychthemeron.

[15a] The Hindu hour-glass is thus described in the *Surya Siddhānta*, Chap. XIII. 'The copper vessel (in the shape of the lower half of a water jar) which has a small hole in its bottom and placed upon clean water in a basin, sinks exactly sixty times in a nychthemeron, is called the Kapāla Yantra. In the *Vishnu Purāna*, p. 631, it is said to be 'a vessel made of 12½ *Palas* of copper, in the bottom of which there is to be a hole made with a tube of gold, of the weight of 4 *Māshas* and 4 inches long." A commentary is more explicit. "A vessel made of 12½ *Palas* of copper, and holding a Prastha, (a Magadha measure) of water, broad at top and having at bottom a tube of gold of 4 *Māshas* weight, 4 fingers long, is placed in water, and the time in which the vessel is filled by the hole in the bottom is a *Nādika*." It is therefore clear that there must be a pipe of the metal and of the length given, and not a simple aperture only. See a paper on Horometry in the *As. Res.* V. 87.

THE ORDER OF THE SPHERES.

The first is the Earth, over which is Water, but not encompassing it entirely Above this is Fire, towards its northern extremity shaped like a myrobalan. Above this again is the Air, but its concave surface is not spherical The Air is of nine kinds *Bhuvāyu*, is the atmosphere extending up to the height of forty-seven *kos* from the globe of the earth. It is volatile in every direction and is the region wherein rain, thunder and lightning take their origin *Avaha* is the air from the last-mentioned body to the moon *Pravaha*, from the second to Mercury *Udvaha* from the third to Venus *Samvaha*, from the fourth to the Sun *Suvaha*, from the fifth to Mars *Parivaha*, from the sixth to Jupiter *Parāvaha*, from the seventh to Saturn *Pravahānila*, from the eight to the fixed stars Day and night are formed by the revolution of this wind, with a movement from east to west, the other seven winds reversing this order of motion [16] But their more authoritative opinion is that those seven form the *Pravahānila*, and are named after the seven planets and all revolve from east to west [17] Their knowledge does not extend beyond the fixed stars Ether transcends all other spheres and is unfathomable

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[16] I am uncertain of this meaning The elements in successive order are supposed to acquire the property of causality one to the other The order in all the Purānas but one is the same according to Wilson (*Vish P*) and agrees with the text The seven winds occur in this order in the *Siddhānta Siromani* which adds, "The atmosphere extends to the height of 12 *yojanas* from the earth Within this limit are the clouds, lightning, &c The Pravaha wind which is above the atmosphere moves constantly to the westward with uniform motion As the sphere of the universe includes the fixed stars and planets, it therefore being impelled by the Pravaha wind is carried round with the stars and planets in a constant revolution." Wilkinson's Translation, p 127

[17] Compare with this the direction of the planes of the winds and their names according to the Moslem theory, in Albiruni's *Chronology of Anc Nations*, Sachau, p 341 In Vol I of his *India*, (p 280 Sach) Brahmagupta says "The wind makes all the fixed stars and the planets revolve towards the W in one and the same

The mean motions of the planets which they call *Madhyama* differ from the Greek reckoning in the seconds and thirds Thus, in a nychthemeron [P. 11] extending from midnight to midnight, the Surya-Siddhānta gives the following calculations

	Degrees	Minutes	Seconds	Thirds
Moon	13	10	34	53
Mercury, Venus, Sun	0	59	8	10
Mars	0	31	26	28
Jupiter	0	4	59	9
Saturn	0	2	0	23

According to the Greeks.

	Degrees	Minutes	Seconds	Thirds
Moon			35	2
Mercury, Venus, Sun				19
Mars			27	40
Jupiter				16
Saturn				35

revolution, but the planets move also in a slow pace to the E like a dust atom moving on a potter's wheel in a direction opposite to that in which the wheel is revolving " Albiruni considers their speaking of the wind as a *motor* is intended only to facilitate the idea to the vulgar comprehension, but when they come to speak of the *first-mover* (God) they at once lay aside comparison with the wind whose essence is not *moving* but is a body acted upon by external influence According to the *Surya-Siddhānta* the rapid movement of the planets is caused by the wind *Pravaha*

The motion of the Planets is considered of their essence and is of equal velocity in all. When calculated in *kos* their rate of motion is said to be 11,858 *yojana*[18] and 3 *kos* in the space of a nychthemeron, and their direction is from west to east. The difference in their periods arises from the greater or less extent of their orbits, the superior being greater than those lower in position

The progression of the fixed stars they consider to be somewhat similar to that of the planets, but differing from the Greeks, they assert that with regard to the Lunar stations, there is a motion of 54 seconds in one year, or one degree in 66 years and 8 months They compute that the asterisms advance 27 degrees from the beginning of Aries, or according to another calculation, having advanced 24 degrees, they have a retrograde motion till they reach the 28th degree of Pisces whence they return to Aries, and the same movement re-commences.[19] The Ursa Major which is called in Sanskrit *Sapta-rishi* (the seven Sages) has a precession in one year of 17 seconds, 47 thirds from west to east, or one degree in

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[18] A *yojana* is four *kos* Albiruni in his *India*, Chap XV, (Sach I 167) makes 1 *krosa* = 1 mile or 4,000 yards, and 1 *yojana* = 8 miles or *kroh* or 32,000 yards Some, he adds, thinks that the *krosa* = ¼ *farsakh*, and so make the *farsakh* of the Hindus 16,000 yards, but this is not so, as this latter (*farsakh*) is = ½ *yojana* Sachau has made a slight oversight in this last passage by translating 1 *krosa* = ½ *yojana* But this cannot be as he already says above that 1 yojana = 8 *krosa* The *Farsakh* is reckoned by Albiruni in his V Chap as 3 miles, and = ½ *yojana* which being reckoned above at 32,000 yards, gives the length of the *farsakh* necessarily at 16,000 But with this result he appears to quarrel

[19] In the *Surya-Siddhānta*, the precession of the equinoxes is thus described 'The circle of Asterisms librates 600 times in a great Yuga (that is, all the Asterisms at first move westward 27° Then returning from that limit they reach their former places Then from those places they move eastward the same number of degrees, and returning thence come again to their own places Thus they complete one libration or revolution' as it is called) Bapu Deva Burgess has a long note on this mode of statement in his translation, p 100

200 years and 6 months, and accomplishes its revolution. One sect considers the operation of these forces to depend solely on the power of the Almighty.

The ancient Greeks, including Aristotle, were ignorant of the motion of the fixed stars and Hipparchus observed a few[20] with a motion from east to west in the Zodiac, but he was unable to calculate their dimensions Ptolemy determined the motion of the stars in longitude to be one degree in a hundred solar years Ibn Aalam and others reckoned sixty The observations of Nasir'uddin Tusi agree with this last, but Muhyiddin Maghrabi[21] and a number of experts at the same observatory discovered that *Aldebaran*, the Heart of Scorpio (*a* Scorpii), and others, advanced a degree in 66 years In the Gurgāni Tables (of Ulugh Beg) this is made to occur in 70 Yazdajirdi years, each of which is 365 years without a fraction

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[20] M Montulca observes that Hipparchus, according to Ptolemy, suspected that only the stars in the Zodiac or in its vicinity had been disturbed in position as if, being the nearest in some measure to the great route of the planets, they had been more exposed to share in their motion But he soon discovered that the movement was general around the poles of the Zodiac, and he transmitted a large number of observations on the fixed stars for the use of his successors They served to assure Ptolemy of the perfect immovability of the fixed stars with regard to each other and of the movement of the whole starry sphere around the poles of the Zodiac *Hist des Math* 265, I

[21] Called al Maghrabi from his residence in Spain and Africa He was spared in the sack of Aleppo by Holāgu and associated with Tusi at Marāgha in A H 658 He thus took part in forming the Ilkhāni Astronomical Tables He had a wide reputation as a philosopher and mathematician D'Herb

Ptolemy following the steps of Hipparchus, established conclusively his theory of the movement of the fixed stars In comparing the longitudes of several of these with those found by Hipparchus, he showed that they had advanced parallel to the Ecliptic by 2° 40′ since his day and as 265 years had since then elapsed, he concluded the movement to be one degree in 100 years The more exact calculation of modern days shows it to be one in 72 *Hist des Math* I 225

CIRCUMFERENCES OF THE SPHERES [22]

The Planets	Yojanas	Kroh
Moon	324,000	
Mercury	1,043,207	3
Venus	2,664,636	2 and a fraction
Sun [12]	4,331,500	a fraction
Mars	8,146,908	3
Jupiter	51,375,764	1
Saturn	127,668,255	2 less a fraction
Fixed Stars	259,890,012	
Ether, beyond which the sun's rays do not traverse	18,712,080,864,000,000	

The minutes of the diameters of each of the planets bear a proportionate ratio to the minutes of their circumference [23]

3 Mustard seeds	make one	Barley corn
8 Barley corns		Digit
24 Digits		Cubit (Dast)
4 Cubits		Dand
2000 Dand		Kos
4 Kos.		Yojana

LUNAR STATIONS

Each of these is called *Nakshatra*, and they are 27 in number, severally divided into 13 degrees and 20 minutes

[22] These distances are given in Albiruni's LV Chap in two computations with some variance between each other and those of the text They are also given in 12th chapter of the *Surya-Siddhānta* with some slight variation from the text

[23] This sentence is not in two MSS and as it stands, appears incomplete The remaining terms of the proportional are missing, and are probably the number of *yojanas* of the diameters, to the *yojanas* of the circumferences Thus the minutes of the diameter of the moon are to the minutes of her circumference, *i e* , 21600, as the number of the *yojanas* of the diameter, *i e* , 480, are to the *yojanas* of the circumference of her whole sphere, and in the same way with the Sun, as shewn by Albiruni, Chap LV,

Altogether 221 stars The moon never tarries in any one station more than 65½ *gharis* or less than 54½.

Three degrees and twenty minutes of the 21st *Nakshatra* to 48′ of the 22° Nakshatra have, for certain purposes, been separately designated *Abhijit* [24]

	Asterisms	No of stars
1	Aswini (Arietis)	3
2	Bharani (Musca)	3
3	Krittikā (Tauri Pleiades)	6
4	Rohini (Tauri Aldabaran)	5
5	Mrigasira (Orionis)	3
6	Ardrā (Orionis)	1
7	Punarvāsu (Geminorum)	4
8	Pushya (Cancri)	3
9	Aslesha (1 and 2 Cancri)	5
10	Maghā)Leonis Regulus)	5
11	Purvā-phālguni (Leonis)	2
12	Uttarā-phālguni (Leonis)	2
13	Hastā)Corvi)	5
14	Chitrā (Virginis, Spica)	1
15	Swāti (Bootis , Arcturus)	1
16	Visākhā (dibra)	4
17	Anurādhā (Scorpionis)	4
18	Jyeshthā (Scorpionis, Antares)	3
19	Mula (Ccorpionis)	11
20	Purvāshādhā (Sagittarii)	4
21	Uttarāshādhā (Sagittarii)	3
22	Abhijit (Lyri)	
23	Sravana (Aquilæ)	3
24	Dhanishthā (Delphini)	4
25	Satabhishā (Aquarii)	
26	Purvābhadrapadā (Pegasi)	
27	Uttarabhadrapadā (Andromedæ)	
28	Revati (Piscium)	

Note I have taken the stars from Bapu Deva's translation of the *Surya-Siddhānta*

[24] 'A complete revolution of the moon,' says Sir W Jones in his paper on the Indian Zodiack (*As Res* II 293) 'with respect to the stars, being made in 27 days, odd hours, minutes and seconds, and perfect exactness being either not attained or required by the Hindus, they fixed on the number 27 and inserted *Abhijit* for some astrological purpose in their nuptial ceremonies It consists of 3 stars between the 21st and 22nd stations " According to Albiruni, Abhijit is the Falling Eagle An Nasr al Wāqi

The Greeks reckoned 28 Lunar Stations and assigned 12 degrees, 51 minutes and 26 seconds to each. They are as follows.[25]

	Names of the Lunar Stations	No of Stars	Magnitudes
1	Al Sharatān (Arietis)	2	3rd
2	Al Butain (Arietis)	3	5th
3	Al Thurayya (Pleiades)	6	5th
4	Aldabarān (Tauri)	1	1st
5	Al Hakaah (Orionis)	3	nebular[26]
6	Al Hannah (Germinorum)	2	3rd and 4th
7	Al Dhirāa (Geminorum)	2	2nd
8	Al Nathrah (Pæsepe et duo Aselli Cancri)	2	4th
9	Al Tarfah (the eye of Leo two close together, one belonging to Leo, the other to the stars outside the figure of Cancer)	2	4th
10	Al Jubrah (Leonis)	4	one of the 4th
11	Al Zubrah (Leonis)	2	2nd
12	Al Sarfah (Leonis)	1	1st
13	Al Awwā (Virginis)	5	3rd
14	Al Simāk (ul Aazal) (Spica)	1	1st
15	Al Ghafr (Virginis)	3	4th
16	Al Zubānā (Libræ)	2	2nd
17	Al Iklil (Scorpii)	3	4th
18	Al Kalb (Sorpii)	1	2nd
19	Al Shaulah (Scorpii)		2nd
20	Al Naāim (Sagittarii)	4	3rd
21	Al Baldah, a blank circular space of the heavens		
22	Saad Al Dhābih (Capricorni)	2	3rd
23	Saad-Bulaa (Aquarii)	2	3rd and 4th
24	(Saad) Al Suud (Aquarii)	2 or 3	3rd and 5th
25	(Saad) Al Akhbiyah (Aquarii)	4	3rd
26	Mukaddam (Alfargh al Awwal (Pegasi)	2	2nd
27	Muakkhar (Alfaragh Althāni (Pegasi, and Andromedæ)	2	2nd
28	Rashā (Batu Alhut) (Andromedæ)	1	3rd

In all 66 or 67 stars

In the following table will be found various particulars regarding the Planets

[25] Abul Fazl gives only the Arabian names I take the Greek equivalents from Albiruni's *Chronology*, Sachau, p 343

[26] Ptolemy considered them one cloudy star and called them the nebulæ in the head of Orion Albiruni, See also Humboldt's *Cosmos*, Vol III, pp. 120-22, Otte

[14] [The form is given but the particulars are wanting in all the MSS. The entries were probably left to be made at a later time, and either forgotten or the information was never obtained The details were the diameters and dimensions of the planets and their distances from the earth's centre in *farsakhs* and *yojanas* according to the Hindus, to Ptolemy and to modern astronomers, but as Albiruni observes, the Hindu astronomers themselves are not agreed in their computations Pulisa reckons the diameter of the earth as 1,600 *yojanas*, and its circumference as 5026 14/15, whilst Brahmagupta reckons the former at 1,581 and the latter at 5,000 *yojanas* The table of Yaqub-b-Tārik, will be found in Albiruni's *India*, Vol. II, p 68]

MAGNITUDES OF THE FIXED STARS

The Hindu philosophers reckon seven magnitudes as follows —

Magnitudes	Minutes	Seconds	Yojanas	Kos	Dand	Cubit	Digit
Diameter of the 1st	7	30	90,239	2	700		
,, ,, 2nd	6	15	75,199	2	1,250		
,, ,, 3rd	5	30	66,175	2	1,580		
,, ,, 4th	4	0	48,127	3	238	2	2
,, ,, 5th	3	0	36,095	0	678	3	13
,, ,, 6th	2	0	24,063	3	1,119	1	1
,, , 7th	1	0	12,031	3	1,559	2	12

The Greeks mention six The first they call the greatest (Akbār) and the sixth, the least (Asghar), and each comprised three degrees, the great, the mean and the less, each more

[27] Humboldt remarks that at the period of Mongolian supremacy in the 15th century, when astronomy flourished at Samarkand under Ulugh Beg, photometric determinations were facilitated by the sub-

important in proportion to its degree [27] The intervals of the hexade were measured by sixths. Some supposed that a diameter of a star of the 1st magnitude was six times the diameter of the smallest, but a manifest error occurred in calculating the volumes and distances intervening, by concluding that the volume of a mean star of the 1st magnitude must therefore be six times larger than the volume of a star of the 6th magnitude But Euclid has demonstrated in the last proposition of the 12th Book of the Elements, that circles are to one another as the squares on their diameters, that is, if the ratio of one diameter to another be one-half or less, there will be three times the ratio between the spheres For instance, if the diameter of one sphere be half the diameter of another, the smaller sphere will be ½ of ½ of ½ or ⅛ of the larger, and if the diameter be ⅓, the smaller sphere will be ⅓ of ⅓ of ⅓ or 1/27 of the larger, and so on Therefore, if the case be as those have conjectured, the volume of a star of the 1st magnitude will be greater than that of one of the 6th by a very considerable difference

The largest of the fixed stars that have been observed, is 222 times, and the smallest of them twenty-three times as large as the earth From their multitude they cannot be numbered, but the position of 1022 has been fixed [28]

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division of each of the six classes of Hipparchus and Ptolemy into three subordinate groups distinctions being drawn between the small, intermediate and large stars of the second magnitude

[28] This is the catalogue of Hipparchus which gives the longitudes and latitudes of the number described, by their position in the constellations as shown in the 8th book of the *Almagest* Montucla observes that only 1,022 were observed, though there are a great many more, and some among them visible to the naked eye, but the number is far below what is vulgarly imagined *Hist des Math* I p 295 I add on the authority of Humboldt (*Cosmos* III, 143) that Pliny could count only 1,600 stars visible in the fine sky of Italy In this enumeration he had descended to stars of the 5th, whilst half a century later Ptolemy indicated only 1,025 stars down to the 6th magnitude The number of stars visible to the naked eye in the horizon of Berlin, Humboldt gives as 4,022 and in that of Alexandria 4,638

Of these—

15	are of the 1st Magnitude		474	are of the 4th Magnitude	
45	,, ,, 2nd	,,	217	,, ,, 5th	,,
208	,, ,, 3rd	,,	49	,, ,, 6th	,,

There are besides, 14 whose magnitudes are not catalogued, nine of which are obscure and five nebular This is the theory of Ptolemy According to Abdul Rahmān-b-Omar al Sufi,[29]

37	are of the 2nd magnitude	
200	,, ,, 3rd	,,
421	,, ,, 4th	,,
267	,, ,, 5th	,,
70	,, ,, 6th	,,

and four nebular.

[29] There is little known of this astronomer, but that he was a native of Rai, and according to D Herbelot, preceptor of Adhadul Daulah of the Bowide dynasty Hammer Purgstall gives the date of his death in A H 376, (A D 986) at the age of 85 He was the author of a work on the fixed stars with illustrations and two [three] others less important [See *Ency Islam*, i 57]

CHAPTER II

DESCRIPTION OF THE EARTH

The Earth is spherical and its centre is the centre of the Universe The elevations and depressions caused by the action of water or violence of the winds do not affect its spheroidity. Its circumference is 5,059 *yojana*,[1] 2 *kos*, 1,154 *dand* The ancient Greeks reckoned the circumference to be 8,000 *farsakh*[2] and its diameter 2,545 5/11 *farsakh*. Modern geometers give [16] 6,700 *farsakh* for the circumference and 2,163 7/11 *farsakh* for the diameter All concur in making one *farsakh* equal to 3 miles

The Hindu philosophers have the following rule for determining the diameter and circumference *To find the circumference* Multiply the given diameter which they call *biyāns* by the multiplier 3,927 termed *gunit*, and divide the product by the divisor 1,250 called *bhāg*, and the quotient, *labdhi* will be the circumference[3] *To find the diameter* Multiply the given circumference by 1,250 the former divisor, and divide the product by 3,927, the former multiplier, and

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[1] The calculations are discrepant Pulisa reckons 5,026 14/15 and its diameter 1,600, while Brahmagupta gives 5,000 and 1,581 respectively and Ibn Tārik 6,596 9/25 and 2,100 Albiruni, *India*, I, p 312, II, p 66

[2] The calculation of Eratosthenes (276-196 B C), determined by a method identical with that which would be employed by a modern astronomer, gives the circumference at 250,000 stadia, Posidonius (135 B C) made it 240,000 stadia or 30,000 miles Lewis *Astron of the Anc*, pp 199-215

[3] व्यास, *byāsam* Sansk *biyāns* गुणक, *gunak* Sansk *gunit* भाजक, *bhājaka* Sansk *bhāg*

The rule in the *Surya-Siddhānta* is to multiply the square of the diameter by 10, and the square root of the product will be the circumference The diameter is taken at 1,600 *yojana* Pulisa reckons the relation of the diameter to the circumference as 1,250 3,927, and Brahmagupta as nearly 12,959 40,980 Albiruni, II 71—72

the quotient will be the diameter The rule of Archimedes as given in Greek works, is accepted by the Hindus in the same manner, as an approximate calculation The gist of the rule is that the relation of the diameter to the circumference is the ratio of 7 22, or about thrice the diameter and one-seventh Any given diameter is multiplied by 22, and divided by 7, the quotient being the circumference Again the circumference multiplied by 7 and divided by 22 gives the diameter The fraction,[4] however, is really less than 1/7 and greater than 10/71 It is evident that the Hindu rule was unknown to the Greeks or they would have vaunted it in their own praise. Glory be to Him who alone knoweth the relation of the diameter to the circumference

Now the method of ascertaining the diameter of the (earth's) circumference was after this manner On a level plain by means of instruments like the astrolabe, the armillary sphere or the quadrant of altitude, taking the elevation of the north pole of the Equinoctial, they proceed northwards, or southwards on the meridian line guided by the astrolabe, and raise the vertical indices above the plane of the circle so that they cover one another And thus a distance is traversed which exceeds, or is less than the elevation above-mentioned by one degree If the advance be to the north, it will increase, if to the south, the reverse The distance from beginning to end is measured and the result forms a degree Thus the circumference is found

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[4] According to Albiruni, Archimedes defined it to be something between 10/70 and 11/70 (Chap XV p 80), but the statement of Abul Fazl is correct The book of Archimedes on the Dimensions of the Circle consists of three propositions 1st, every circle is equal to a right angled triangle of which the sides containing the right angle are equal respectively to its radius and circumference 2nd, the ratio of the area of the circle to the square of its diameter is nearly that of 11 to 14 3rd, the circumference of the circle is greater than three times its diameter by a quantity greater than 10/70 of the diameter, but less than 1/7 of the same Smith Art Archimedes

The ancients by this operation found the degree to be 22 *farsakh* and 2/9 or 66⅔ miles When the plain of Sanjār near Mausil, was selected by the Caliph Al Māmun for this experiment, Khālid-b-Abdu'l Malik Marwarudi with a body of scientific men went towards the north, and Ali-b-Isā [17] Usturlābi with another to the south The former party found the degree longer than the latter, for when each had measured their respective distances, it was found to be 18 *farsakh* or 56⅔ miles The difference between the two was ⅔ of a mile[5] Māmun as a test, asked the two parties the distance between Mecca and Baghdad According to the above calculation, multiplying 12° 40′ by 56⅔ miles which is a degree, they made the distance to be 720 *kos*[6] By the order of the Caliph the most level and shortest route between the two cities was measured and the difference was found to be slight It is strange that the accurate (Nāsiruddin) Tusi in his *Tazkirah* (*u'l Nāsiriyah Liber Memorialis de astronomia*) should ascribe to the ancients what is related of the astronomers of Māmun's age regarding the measurement of a degree in the plain of Sanjār Mulla Qutbu'ddin Shirāzi[7] in his *Tuhflat* (*u'l Shāhiyah, Donum regium*) and other works, expresses the opinion of the moderns in regard to the astronomers of that Caliph, in the manner I have related There has been undoubtedly a slip of the pen in the *Tazkirah* The Hindu astronomers make the degree 14 *yojanas*, 436 *dand*, 2 cubits and 4 digits, and explain it after the former manner

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[5] Mr Reuben Barrow [in his notes in Gladwin's trans of the *Ain*,] here remarks, that from the spheroidity of the earth, the degrees ought to increase towards the north but this difference is much greater than it ought to be according to theory

[6] Mr Barrow here notes in Gladwin's work, that as the true length of a degree is between 69 and 70 miles, and there is reason to believe that the measures could not be far wrong, it follows that we have not the true length of their measures

[7] Hāji Khalifah gives the year of his death as A H 720 (A D 1370) He composed the astronomical work alluded to, for the Emir Shāh Muhammad-b -Mutazz-b -Tāhir,

Also on a level plain at sunrise they regulate the course of *gharis* by means of the *Siktajantra* which is an instrument like an hour-glass, measured for 60 *gharis* With this they walk eastwards After 84 *yojanas* and a fraction, there is a difference of one *ghari* and the day advanced *by that time* [8] This multiplied by 60 gives the circumference of the Earth

Description of the Insular Continents

The Hindu philosophers describe the terraqueous globe as comprising seven insular continents and seven seas, the whole area of land and sea measuring 7,957,750 *yojanas*

1 *Jambu Dwipa*[9] is an island surrounded by the ocean, and is the habitation of the human race and the greater part of the animal creation They consider it together with half the ocean, as equal to a half of the whole globe The breadth of the ocean is 130 *yojanas*, and the breadth of the island is

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[8] Mr Reuben Barrow's note on this is as follows 'Their intent was evidently to measure a degree of longitude in a parallel circle The principle of the method was the same as that of our modern longitude watches , and the general practice was to adjust the *Siktajantra* to the time of the meridian they set out from and to go eastward till the difference of the times shewn by it and by observation appeared to be one *ghari* For if the instrument was exact, whatever meridian it was carried under, it would still continue to show the time under the meridian of the first place and if the place arrived at was one degree more to the east the time found at that place (whether by the sun s rising or any other method) would be one *ghari* more, and so in proportion and this is what is meant by the day being more advanced The Hindus must doubtless have observed the necessity of allowing for the change of declination in the time of sunrise , but according to the mode prescribed by the author, it would be requisite to restrict the time of making the experiment to that of the solstice "

[9] The description of these islands, their extent, position and reference to European Geography, form a literature of their own, too disputed and uncertain in their details for dogmatism, were the Puranic Cosmography credible enough to be worth it "Manifold are the opinions of people," says Brahmagupta, "relating to the description of the earth and to Mount Meru, particularly among those who study the Purānas and the religious literature " I content myself with indicating for reference, Chaps XX to XXXII of Albiruni, and the *Vishnu Purāna*

1,265 *yojanas*, of which 65 are water, and the superficial area of this island with the sea is 3,978,875 *yojanas*, of which 417,360 are water They say that in the centre of the Earth is a mountain of gold like an axis, and that part of it which with reference to *Jambu Dwipa* is above the Earth, is called *Sumeru* and is 84,000 *yojanas* [18] high They believe that the degrees of paradise are on its summit and around its sides It is said to be the same depth below the surface, and this is known as *Badwānal* and extraordinary fables are told of it This is the account of the fanatical traditionists of this people, but the learned among them, like the Greeks, do not admit of a height over 2⅓ *farsakh*

2 *Shāka-dwipa* half the sea bounds it on one side, and its superficial extent is 427,424 *yojanas* Beyond this is a sea of milk, of 801,097 *yojanas*

3 *Shālmali Dwipa*, 320,120 *yojanas* Beyond this is a sea of curds, of 633,553 *yojanas*

4 *Kusha Dwipa* 286,749 *yojanas* Beyond this is a sea of butter, of 459,792 *yojanas*

5 *Krauncha Dwipa* 181,684 *yojanas* The sea beyond is the juice of sugarcane, of 250,504 *yojanas*

6 *Gomedaka Dwipa* 86,580 *yojanas* The sea beyond is of wine, of 71,648 *yojanas*

7 *Pushkara Dwipa* 14,204 *yojanas* Beyond is the sea of sweet water, of 28,160 *yojanas*

The breadth of each sea is 130 *yojanas*, and the breadth of each island, 70 *yojanas* In these six last *Dwipas*, are located the degrees of the lower regions The seven seas measure together 3,079,474 *yojanas* and the dry land 4,878,278 *yojanas*

The habitation of men and animals extends to the 53rd degree of latitude, being 728 *yojanas*.

Description of Jambu Dwipa

The legends regarding the six islands being beyond the limits of credibility, I put them aside and confine myself to a few particulars regarding Jambu.

Dividing the ocean, at each of the four cardinal directions with relation to the equatorial line, stands a city whose fenced walls are of bricks of gold 1 *Yamakoti* The earth's longitude is reckoned from this, but in the Greek treatises the Hindu canon is said to be based (as 0° of longitude) on *Gangdizh,*[10] the Greeks being really unaware from what point their [19] longitude was taken 2 *Lanka* [11] 3 *Siddhapura* 4 *Romaka* Each of these is distant 90 degrees from its neighbour and 180° from that which is opposite to it The mountain *Sumeru* is distant 90° from each The northern sides of these lie under the equinoctial circle which in Sanskrit is called *Vishuva-vritta* This circle passes over the zenith of the inhabitants of these four cities, and the sun twice in the year reaches the zenith, and day and night throughout the year are nearly equal The greatest altitude of the sun is 90° His progression is from Lanka to Romaka, from thence to Siddhapura, continuing to Yamakoti and back to Lanka When the sun is in the meridian of Yamakoti, it is sunrise at Lanka, sunset at Siddhapura, and midnight at Romaka, and when it is midday in Lanka, it rises at Romaka, sets at Yamakoti, and is midnight at Siddhapura When he is in the meridian of Romaka, it is sunrise at Siddhapura, sunset at Lanka and midnight at Yamakoti When in the meridian of Siddhapura, the sun rises at

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[10] This is said to be a fortress built by Zohāk in the city of Babylon Some account of it will be found in the 2 Vol (Macan's edit) of the *Shāhnāmah* According to Albiruni, Abu Maashar based his canon on this place as a first meridian

[11] Lanka and Ujjain With Adelard de Bath, Gerard of Cremona, Albert the Great and Roger Bacon the name appears as Arim or Arym, and this place received the name of the Cupola of the earth which was also applied to Lanka Rein, ccxlvii. I.

Yamakoti, sets at Romaka and it is midnight at Lanka. There is a difference of 15 *gharis* between each of these four places.

Again, north of Lanka towards Sumeru there are said to be three mountains *Himāchala*, *Hemakuta* and *Nishadha*. These three mountains in this order stretch across from the shore of the eastern sea to the western quarter. From *Siddhapura* to Sumeru also are three other ranges *Sringavanta*, *Sukla*, and *Nila*. There is another mountain between Yamakoti and Sumeru, called *Mālyavanta* adjoining Nishadha and Nila, and another between Romaka and Sumeru called *Gandhamādana* whose extremes meet the same two ranges.

Extraordinary are the legends regarding these mountains which cannot here be particularised, but something shall be set down of the region between Lanka and Himāchala, and a little stand exemplar for much. This intervening country is called *Bhārata-khanda*. *Bhārata* was a mighty sovereign and this tract was named after him. From Lanka to Himāchala which is 52 degrees, the country is inhabited, the settlements being particularly frequent up to the 48th degree, and less so through the remaining four, on account of the extreme cold.

[20] According to their supposition a celestial degree is equal to 14 *yojanas* on earth, the whole fifty-two degrees therefore are 728 *yojanas* which they consider to represent the habitable world. Between Himāchala and Hemakuta lies *Kinnara-khanda* comprising 12 degrees of latitude. Between Hemakuta and Nishadha is *Harikhanda* comprising the same number of degrees. Between Siddhapura and Sringa-vanta is *Kuru-khanda* occupying 52 degrees. Between Sringa-vanta and Shukla lies *Hiranmaya-khand* with 12 degrees of latitude, the whole of which is of gold. Between Shukla and Nila is the tract called *Ramyaka-khanda* comprising the same number of degrees of latitude, and between Yamakoti and

Mālyavanta is *Bhadrāsva-khanda* with an extent of 76° Intermediate between Gandhamādana and Romaka is *Ketu-māla* of 76° Between Mālyvanta, Gandhamādana, Nishadha and Nila is *Ilāvrita* and extends 14° on each quarter [12] The superficial measurement of these nine divisions is said to be equal, though the breadth of some is less than that of others

On the four sides of Sumeru are four other mountains, that on the side of Yamakoti is called *Mandara*, that towards Lanka, *Sugandha Parvata*, on the Romaka quarter, *Vipula*, and towards Siddhapura, *Suparsva* The height of each is 18,000 *yojanas*

The nine divisions of Jambu-dwipa having been recorded, I now proceed to relate some particulars of the first division, *Bhārata-khanda* Between Lanka and Himāchala are said to be seven mountain ranges, extending from east to west and smaller than the former ranges These are, *Mahendra, Sukti, Malaya, Riksha, Pariyātra, Sahya, Vindhyā* [13]

The tract between Lanka and Mahendra is called *Indra-khanda*, between it and Sukti, *Kaser*, between Sukti and Malaya, *Tāmravarna*, between Malaya and Riksha, *Gabhasti-mat*, between Riksha and Pāriyātra, *Nāg-khanda*, between Pāriyātra and Sahya, *Saumyakhanda* The tract between Sahya and Vindhyā is divided in two parts, the eastern of

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[12] These tracts are named after the nine sons of Agnidhra, the king of Jambu-dwipa, who were named, Nābhi, Kimpurusha, Harivarsha, Ilāvrita, Ramya, Hiranvat Kuru, Bhadrāsva, and Ketu-mala Vishnu Pur See also the Siddhānta Siromani where all these names and divisions occur

[13] I correct the readings of the text from the *Vishnu Purāna* The Mahindra chain extends from Orissa to Gondwana, part of which near Ganjam is still called Mahindra Malei or hills of Mahindra Sukti or Suktimat is doubtful Sahya is the northern portion of the W Ghats the mountains of the Konkan, Riksha, the mountains of Gondwana Vindhya is here restricted to the eastern division of the chain Pāriyātra or Pāripātra is the northern and western portion The classification seems to have been known to Ptolemy See Wilson's note *Vish P* 174

which is called *Kumāra-khanda*, and the western *Vāruna-khanda*.[14]

The upper half of the globe would be represented by the accompanying plate

Lacuna

The Hindus also divide the world into three regions The upper is named *Swar-loka*, where the good receive the reward of their virtuous life The middle region is *Bhur-loka*, which is the abode of mankind The lower is called *Pātāla-loka*, where the wicked receive the punishment of their evil deeds

The religious teachers of this creed conceive the world to be a superficies divided into fourteen parts Seven superior, *viz* , *Bhur-loka, Swar-loka, Mahar-loka, Jana-loka, Tapo-loka* and *Satya-loka* and the same number inferior, *Atala, Sutala, Vitala, Talātala, Mahātala, Rasātala,* and *Pātala* They relate extraordinary legends regarding the inhabitants of each region which cannot be inserted in a summary narrative

This people also speak of seven seas and seven islands (*dwipas*), and nine divisions of Jambu-*dwipa*, but there is considerable diversity in their order, extent and other particulars, as for instance, the mountain Sumeru is reckoned to be 84,000 *yojanas* above ground, and 32,000 in breadth and 16,000 below the surface of the earth and the same in breadth The habitable earth is not confined, they think, only to Bhāratakhanda nor even to Jambu-*dwipa* They say that beyond the ocean there is a land of gold[15] which is the abode of men Their duration of life extends to a thousand years, neither more nor less Sickness and grief come not nigh them, neither have they fear nor greed nor ignorance They follow not evil speaking nor jealousy nor calumny and live in peace, in rectitude and in charity They lose not the

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[14] For Kumāra, which is Kumārika in Wilford, the *Vishnu P* has Gāndharva

[15] This is Pushkara the 7th *Dwipa*, and recalls the land of Hevilath where gold groweth in the 2nd Chap of Genesis

vigour of youth, neither are they invaded by [P 22] weakness or decrepitude They are of the same creed and race and have no distinction of food or clothing, and their wishes are gratified without toil Of the other islands in like manner are wonderful legends told which the ordinary rigid formalist would not admit to a hearing, but do not surprise the adoring believer in Divine Omnipotence

They also divide Kumārakhanda into two parts The country where the black antelope is not found they call *Mlechchha-des,*[16] and regard it with contempt and unworthy of existence The region where that animal is indigenous is called *Jag-des,* and it is subdivided into four parts 1 *Arya-varta,* bounded on the east and west by the ocean, and north and south by two mountain ranges of Hindustān 2 *Madhya-des,* to the east of which is Illahābās and to the west the river Vināsā, twenty-five *ḳos* from Thanesar, and bounded to the north and south by the same ranges 3 *Brahmarikh-des* (Brahmarshi), comprises five places 1 Thanesar and its dependencies, 2 Bairāth (*var* Pairāth), 3 Kampila (*var*

[16] The Mlechchhas are the *Kiratas* of the *Vishnu Pur*, the inhabitants of the mountains east of Hindustan according to H H Wilson Wilford places them in the mountains of the Deccan All this passage is taken from the ordinances of Manu and the names are marred in the taking Manu writes as follows in Sir W Jones' translation Chap II

(17) Between the two divine rivers Saraswati and Drishadwati lies the tract of land which the sages have named Brahmāvarta because it was frequented by gods

(19) Kurukshetra, Matsya, Panchāla or Kānyakubja Surasena or Mathura form the region called Brahmarshi, distinguished from Brahmavarta

(21) That country which lies between Himavat and Vindhyā to the east of Vinasana and to the west of Prayāga, is celebrated by the title of Madhya-desa or the central region

(22) As far as the eastern as far as the western ocean, between the two mountains just mentioned lies the tract which the wise have named Aryavarta, or *inhabited by respectable men*

Burnell in his translation explains Vinasana as the terminus of the Saraswati Prayāga is of course, Allahabad Wilford identifies the Drishadwati as the Caggar or Gagar, but the courses of these rivers must have considerably altered Cf Wilson, *Vishnu Purāna,* p 181, note

Kanılah), 4. Mathurā, 5 Kanauj 4 *Brahmāvarta*, the fertile tract between the Sarsuti (Saraswati) and Rākasi (Drishadwati) rivers

ON TERRESTRIAL LONGITUDE

The Hindus term longitude *lambana*, and make it consist of 180° after the manner of the Greeks They reckon its beginning (as 0° of longitude) from *Yamakoti* in the farthest east, apparently because following the movement of night and day, the nearest point to its origin is selected The Greeks reckon from the Islands of the Blest There are six[17] islands of the western ocean formerly inhabited, but now submerged beneath the sea From their delightful climate, their choice production of fruits and flowers and the luxuriance of their vegetation, they were accounted a paradise Men call them the Eternal Islands (*Khāldāt*) or the Fortunate (*Sa'da*) Some assert that the Fortunate Isles are 24 in number between the Eternal Islands and the sea-shore Of the Greeks, some take the reckoning of longitude from the shore of the western (Atlantic) ocean which they call *Okeanós*[18] which is 10° east

[17] The number mentioned by Ptolemy and Pliny instead of seven, the actual number of the *ai ton Makāron nysoi* A table of their ancient and modern names will be found in W Smith s Dict

Reinaud notices the distinction or confusion made by the Arabs between the Eternal Isles or Islands of the Blest, and the Fortunate Isles Abulfeda confounds them, but Ibn Sayd places the Fortunate Isles among the Eternal and about them, making the latter 6 in number and the former 24 and distributing them among the 1st, 2nd and 3rd climates between the 16th and 30th degrees of north latitude, thus allowing the inference that the Fortunate Isles are the Canaries and the Eternal the Cape de Verde *Geog Abulf* Intro ccxxiv

[18] According to a fragment of Phavorinus, not a Greek word, but derived from the barbarians probably connected with Sanskrit Among the Greeks the son of Uranus and Gaia, became in physical geography, a *river* or stream circumfluent round the earth, and the large expanses of water are distinguished by Herodotus as *seas* But the idea of the encircling waters became transferred as a secondary meaning to the ocean and specially to the Atlantic which was called the Great Sea, the Outer Sea, the Atlantic or simply the Ocean Smith's *Dict Geog*

f the Eternal Islands The distance of the shore from the ılands ıs 222 2/9 *farsakh* accordıng to the system of the ncıents, or 189 8/9 *farsakh* accordıng to the moderns, the ıtter beıng guıded to thıs conclusıon by observatıon of the ıotıon of the Zodıacal sıgns ın successıon and the proxımıty f the place In the longıtudınal reckonıng of places both are greed The longıtude ıs an arc of the equatorıal between ıts oınt of upper ıntersectıon wıth the merıdıan measured from ıe begınnıng of the habıtable earth (the first merıdıan), and s poınt of upper ıntersectıon wıth the merıdıan of the gıven lace, and the ınterval ıs the dıstance between the place and ıe first merıdıan at ıts nearest sıde [19]

To find the longıtude; at the first merıdıan or a place 'hose longıtude ıs known, observe the exact tıme of the ccultatıon of lıght ın a lunar-eclıpse, ıts duratıon and ınıtıal r total reappearance, and let a sımılar observation be made t the place whose unknown longıtude ıs requıred If the me be the same on both, theır longıtude wıll be the same ʳ the tıme be later at the place requıred, the cıty ıs more › the eastward [20] The dıfference of the tımes of observa-on ıs taken, and an excess ın the number of degrees over ıe place whose longıtude ıs known, ıs allotted on the calcula-on of sıx degrees for every *gharı* and fifteen degrees for every our, reckonıng 4 mınutes to the degree If the tıme be ırlıer, the cıty ıs more westerly and the calculatıon ıs the

[19] Thıs ıs the lıteral translatıon, but ıt must be taken to ınclude ıe meanıng that the arc of the equator ıntercepted between the vo merıdıans may be reckoned on any parallel of latıtude as well s on the equator It must be remembered wıth reference to what termed the poınt of upper ıntersectıon that all south of the quator ıs supposed to be water and unınhabıted and that there-ʼre the upper half cırcle only of the equatorıal ıs consıdered

[20] The rule ın the *Surya Sıddhānta* ıs as follows

At the gıven place ıf the Moon s total darkness (ın her eclıpse) egıns or ends after the ınstant when ıt begıns or ends at the lıddle lıne of the Earth, then the gıven place ıs E of the Mıddle ıe, (but ıf ıt begıns or ends) before the ınstant (when ıt begıns or ıds on the Mıddle lıne, then) the gıven place ıs west of the ıddle lıne

reverse of that for the east According to the system of the Hindu astronomers who begin their reckoning of longitude from the east, in the first instance, the number of degrees will diminish, and in the second case, increase.

On Terrestrial Latitude.

This is called by the Hindus *Akṣha*. It is reckoned from Lanka and carried to the 52nd degree of latitude All within this region is populous, but less so up to 14° further (north) on account of the severity of the cold. The Greeks reckon their latitude from the equator, and and as their circle passes through Lanka, there is no discrepancy and the result is the same The latitude of a place is an arc extending from the equator between the meridian of the place, and its upper intersection with the equinoctial In short it is the distance of the meridian of the city from the equinoctial, and that is the degree of the elevation of the pole (above the horizon of the place)

To find the latitude [21] Take the latitude of a (circumpolar) star that is constantly visible, and ascertain its highest and lowest points of ascension Subtract the lesser from the greater and add half the remainder to the lesser, or subtract it from the greater The result of this process of addition and subtraction gives the latitude of the place Or

During either equinox, take the altitude of the sun at noon Subtract this from 90° and the remainder is the latitude of the place. Or

When the sun enters the first of Cancer, take its greatest altitude and subtract its total declination The remainder will give the co-latitude Subtract this from 90° and the remainder gives the latitude of the place.

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[21] Albiruni says in his 29th Chapter on India, that the Hindu method of determining the latitude of a place had not come to his knowledge

Every place whose longitude is less than 90° is called west longitude, and greater than 90° east longitude According to the Hindus it is the reverse. Every place whose latitude is less than 33°, is south, and greater than 33°, north latitude

In order to ascertain the (times of) worldly events, at the sun's first entry into Aries, they observe its rising at Lanka, and finding the horoscope, they assemble to determine the calculation and this they call *Lankudaya Lagna* [22] The oblique ascension is used to determine the relative conditions of any particular place, and is called *Nagr-udaya Lagna* The Greeks observe this system, but they have two *ascendens* or horoscopes, one at the extreme east to ascertain the circumstances of one hemisphere and the second at the cupola of the earth which is the means of discovering the [24] conditions of the other They consider that as the circle of the meridian cuts the globe of the earth, it appears as a circle on its circumference and intersects the equatorial line The point of intersection (Lanka) is called the cupola or the centre of the earth Some

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[22] The etymology of these terms is thus given in the *Siddhānta Siromani*

That point of the ecliptic which is, at any time, on the eastern horizon is called the Lagna or horoscope This is expressed in signs and degrees and reckoned from the first point of stellar Aries That point which is on the western horizon is called the Asta-Lagna or setting horoscope The point of the ecliptic of the meridian is called the Madhya-Lagna or middle horoscope (culminating point of the ecliptic) The Udaya-Lagna is the rising horoscope or the point of the ecliptic which comes to the eastern horizon at the same time with the planet, its Asta-Lagna being the setting horoscope or the point of the ecliptic which is on the eastern horizon when the planet reaches the western horizon

According to a paper in the *As Res* II, by Samuel Davis, the Hindus signify by the *Lagna of Lanka,* those points of the equator which rise respectively with each 30th degree of the ecliptic in a right sphere, answering to the right ascension in any latitude By the Lagna of any particular place, the oblique ascension or the divisions of the equator which rise in succession with each sign in an oblique sphere By the horoscope is signified the point of the ecliptic rising at a given time after sunrise, the rule to find which is given in the *Surya Siddhānta,* (Bāpu Deva, p 39) The omphalos which marked Delphi as the centre of Greece and of the Earth, existed in the temple of Delphi during the historic period

suppose the cupola to be in the middle of the *oikoimény*, that is at a spot situated in Lon. 90°, Lat. 33° Others place it in the fourth climate, Lon 9°, Lat 36°

A brief description of the cosmogony according to the strange theories of Hindu sages having been given, I here note some particulars of the system of the Greeks to relieve the dryness of this exposition

There are nine integral heavens[23] 1. The greatest heaven, called also the crystalline, whose revolution is the cause of night and day 2 The heaven of the fixed stars. 3 The heaven of Saturn 4 The heaven of Jupiter. 5. The heaven of Mars 6 The heaven of the Sun 7 The heaven of Venus 8 The heaven of Mercury. 9 The heaven of the Moon There are besides fifteen minor spheres. Again, the elemental spheres are nine in number

The first is of Fire its convex adjoins the concave of the sphere of the moon.

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[23] The *Istilāhātu'l Funun* describes the heavens (*āflāk*) as of two kinds (1) the integral or independent (*Kullya*) which are *not* parts of other heavens, and, (2) the supplemental or dependent (*juzya*) that are so The integral sphere is simple (*mughrad*) when it has no dependent sphere, such as the great or crystalline heaven, and it is compound (*markab*) if it has such, like the heavens of the planets Its definition of the word "heaven" (*falk*) corresponds to that of *āsmān* at p 14. The great or crystalline heaven, the sphere *par excellence* which includes all others is called also the heaven of heavens, the universal heaven (*falk-ul-kul*), the starless, the lofty, the all-comprehending, &c It is the *primum mobile* having a swift motion from E to W completed in less than 24 hours, and its movement carries round the other heavens and all in them, for being itself the prime motor, it possesses the force to compel the motion of all included by it, for it is the motor of them in *essentia rei* and of all in them *per accidens* The crystalline sphere of Anaximander was handed down to the middle ages as a cosmical theory and the firmament was supposed to consist of from 8 to 10 glassy spheres encasing each other like the coats of an onion The vault was called crystalline from the supposed condensation of the air into a solid transparent body by the action of fiery ether

Albiruni (Chap XX) accepting the necessity of eight spheres, sees no object in a ninth, which was unknown to Plato For Islamic astronomy, see *Ency Islam*, i 497-501

The second, of Air: of this there are four strata, *viz.*, 1. *volatilised* where the fluid is permeated by vapour, for the ascending vapours do not reach this point but become dissipated. It is here that comets, Zodiacal light,[24] luminous streams and meteors and the like have their origin. The Hindus regard them all as astral bodies of which they number a thousand kinds, and believe that they are always in existence but only occasionally visible.[25] 2 *predominant*, where the shooting stars are observed: 3 *boreal*, which is a vaporous wind and extremely cold in which clouds, lightning, thunder and thunderbolts take their rise· 4 *dense*, and this adjoins the spheres of Water and Earth

The third, of Water: this surrounds the earth and from the effect of light and contact with earth, does not retain its original purity and thus waters varying in sweet, saline, clear, and turbid qualities spring from the soil and are diverse in their scantiness, excess, limpidity and density

The fourth, Earth · this according to their notions lies in three strata (α) that which by the bounty of the Creator came forth from the waters and subjected to heat became dry land, wherein is the region of mountain and mine and the habitat of the greater number of animals, (β) clay, which is earth

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[24] The term *Nezak* or *Nayzak* (a short spear) was first applied, according to Humboldt, (*Kosmos* I, 128 Otte), by the Court astronomers of Persia to the strange light never before observed, seen in 1688 in Persia and described by the great traveller Chardin In his *Atlas du Voyage*, however, he applies the term *nyāzak* to the famous comet which appeared over nearly the whole world in 1688 and whose head was so hidden in the west that it could not be seen in the horizon of Ispahan

[25] "The belief in the existence of non-luminous stars was diffused amongst the ancient Greeks and in the early ages of Christianity The doubt as to the passing away and reappearance of stars is expressed by Pliny in his mention of Hipparchus, "Stellæ an obirent nascerenturve?" The authority of Humboldt is opposed to the doctrine of their annihilation and affirms that the cosmical alteration is merely the transition of matter into new forms and that dark cosmical bodies may by a renewed process of light again become luminous *Kosmos* III, pp 222—254 Otte.

mixed with water; (γ) earth simple, and this is about the centre of the globe.

Some writers blindly following traditional lore hold that the Earth like the heavens consists of seven vaults, and another school believes that the heavens overshadow them all, and that each earth is surrounded by a mountain, as the mountain of *Qāf*[26] surrounds this habitable world They also assert that the earths are of gold, and ruby and the like. Some pretend that beyond Qāf there are seventy regions of gold, followed by as many of musk and imagine similar extraordinary strata. Though fable may create a hundred other such fancies, no proof can substantiate them

EXTENT OF DESERT AND HABITABLE LAND

The equinoctial is a great circle, the two poles whereof are the two poles of the earth The one which is in the direction of Ursa Minor called also *Banāt u'n Naash*, is the north pole The constellation of the [P 25] Kid[27] is adjacent to it The other is the south pole[28] When the sun passes over this circle, night and day are of equal length in all places, either actually or approximately, and this occurs in the first

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[26] Albiruni says (XXIII) that the mountain called by his people Qāf, is Lokaloka with the Hindus, (a fabulous belt of mountain boundary, beyond the seven seas and dividing the visible world from the regions of darkness)

[27] *Jidy* It is not a constellation but *a* of Ursa Minor, *i e*, the polar star Reinaud (Abulf I cxciv) calls it le Chevreau and points out that its other signification of Capricorn has led astray several savants, notably Silvestre de Sacy (*Recueil des Notices* t VIII, p 146, et 178) The Bear which does not set for those who live north of the equator, serves the Arabs to mark the north while Canopus which is always visible to them, marks the south Reinaud Ibid

[28] "It is well known", says Albiruni (xxii) "that the north pole with us is called the Great Bear, and the south pole, Canopus But some of our people maintain that in the south of heaven too, there is a Great Bear of the same shape as the northern, which revolves round the southern pole" The Greek word πολος originally signified a ball or sphere and hence was applied to the cavity of the heavens

of Aries and Libra. From this imaginary circle being drawn upon the concave surface of the *magnus orbis*, a great circle is delineated upon the earth which divides it into two-halves north and south, the periphery being called the equatorial line where night and day are always equal

The horizon is of two kinds, the *real* and the *sensible*, and the latter is to be understood in two ways. The *first* is a circle parallel to the *real* horizon and contiguous to the surface of the earth The *second* is a circle which divides the visible portion of the sphere from the invisible, and this horizon is also called the visible, the radial and the horizon of vision The zenith and nadir are its two poles, which vary with the spectator and his position The *real* horizon is a great circle, having the same two poles, and the distance of the *first sensible* horizon from the *real*, is half the earth's diameter, and by this the *real* horizon is obtained [29] And as the equatorial line divides the earth into two halves, the northern and the southern, the circle of the *real* horizon divides those two halves again into two, an upper and a lower Thus by these two circles, the earth is apportioned into four quarters, an upper and lower northern, and similar southern divisions The Greeks supposed the northern quarter only to be above water, but they have determined this by no proof Its creation was assigned to the power of the Sun, in order that animal life to which breathing is a necessity, might secure the capacity to exist and the wondrous power of human speech become manifest Through the force of the celestial light and the accretional properties of matter in the upper

[29] That is, in those regions where the sun's rays fall directly and not obliquely upon the earth So Albiruni says "The country S of the Line is not known and the earth is too much burnt to be habitable Parts of the inhabited world do not reach nearer the equator than to a distance of several days journey There the water of the sea is dense because the sun so intensely vapourises the particles of water that fishes and other animals keep away from it. . ~ The sun when reaching the perigee of his excentric sphere, stands nearly in its utmost southern declination and burns all the countries over which he culminates " *Chronology*, 249

regions, and by the action of the winds and the commotion of the seas, lofty mountains and marvellous configurations of hills and profound abysses were produced. And because the tendency of water is to flow downwards and the earth thereby becomes viscous, the fermentation of heat and the disintegrating process of time caused the rise of mountainous ranges

When the sun culminates in the northern signs of the ecliptic from Aries to Virgo, its lowest declination from the equator will necessarily occur in the southern signs From Libra to Pisces are the signs culminating in the winter solstice At this time the sun is nearest the sphere of the earth and the warmth is excessive, the heat absorbing moisture as may be witnessed by experiment with a lamp. The solstice continues in the same sign during 2,100 years and the entire revolution is made in 25,200 years, one-half of this period being occupied in the northern and the other in the southern signs [30] It is now in the 3rd degree of Cancer and the opposite solstitial point is in the same degree of Capricorn It is this ecliptic movement that has caused the northern quarter of the globe to become *terra firma* Its superficial area, according to the ancients, is 5,090,000 and according to the moderns 3,678,233½ *farsakh* The rule to find this is to multiply the diameter by ¼ of the circumference and the product will be the measurement of the quarter of the globe, or divide the superficial area of the whole globe by 4 and the quotient gives the area of the quarter. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the quarter of the globe was created *terra firma* or became so at a later period The majority incline to the latter belief from the consideration of the proximity of the solstitial points They affirm that the whole of the fourth

[30] The precession of the equinoxes was discovered by Hipparchus At that time the point of the autumnal equinox was about 6° east of Spica Virgins In 1750 *i e*, about 1900 years afterwards, this point was observed 26° 21′ west of that star Hence the equinoctial points will make an entire revolution in 25,745 years

part of the globe was *terra firma,* but that now a great part of it is submerged such as the Eternal Islands, Greece and and other places.

[26] The *Oikoimény* is declared not to extend in latitude beyond the complement of the greatest declination of the Sun from the equator[31] which is 60° 29′ 43″, as animal life could not exist beyond this point from the severity of the cold The superficial area of the *oikoimény* is taken by the ancients from the equatorial line to a place whose latitude is equal to the complement of the sun's greatest declination from the equator According to the Gurgāni Canon, the superficial area is 4,668,502 7/60 *farsakh* and according to the moderns *3,370,992¾ farsakh* Some say that a portion of the upper southern quarter adjoining the northern quarter is *terra firma* but not inhabited. Others affirm that it is inhabited as far as 10° south Ptolemy[32] in his Geography allows 16° 25′ and near the Zanj and Abyssinian, further still A few even suppose that the other three-fourths of the globe are also above water and inhabited.

Ancient traditions relate that Alexander after his conquest of the northern quarter of the globe, desiring to obtain some information of the remaining quarters and of the seas thereof, named several bold and scientific explorers for this duty, and supplying them, confident in their providential

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[31] That is to say, the greatest northern declination from the equator being according to our calculation 23° 27′ 27″, this subtracted from 90° will give the complement of the arc from the equator to the north pole, and this complement, *viz*, 66° 32′ 33″ reckoned *from the equator* measures the limit, in the sense of the text, within which men can live and beyond which in a northerly direction, they cannot

[32] Ptolemy placed the southern limit of the habitable world as, Abul Fazl rightly states later in the parallel of 16¼ degrees of S Lat at Antimerooe, and the northern limit in 63° N Lat which passes through Thule, supposed to be the Shetlands This range therefore includes 79¼ degrees The total degrees of longitude of the habitable parts of the earth he accounts to be 177¼ *Cosmog Fol. Venet* 1486, Chap XII and Mc Crindle, *Anc Ind.* 5.

mission in the pursuit of knowledge, with six months' provisions, embarked them in a sea-going vessel After sailing day and night, through the period mentioned, they fell in with some vessels, but from diversity of tongues they were unable to understand each others' intentions. A fight ensued and Alexander's party was victorious. With some of the captives they intermarried The children of these marriages spoke the languages of both their parents and from these nurslings of life it was discovered that a certain prince had despatched this band also with the same object, and after a three months' continuous sail the encounter had taken place. But this account is disputed.[33] In other ancient writings it is related that Alexander sent out a party of scientific men thoroughly proficient in the knowledge of various languages, on an expedition by sea with provisions for three years They were instructed to sail eastwards for a period of a year and a half towards the rising places of the stars, and then to return and relate their experience This party after sailing the appointed time reached a flourishing coast and they learnt that they had penetrated to the country of Bactria Alexander for a time appointed some of his ministers to the government of this province

At the present day, those of more exact information declare that the south is inhabited in the same way as the north. Of late years the Europeans have discovered an extensive and populous insular continent which they have called the New World. Some shattered vessels had been here driven ashore A man mounted on horseback was seen by the inhabitants Mistaking the man and his horse for a single animal they were overcome by fear and the country fell an easy capture

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[33] Such is the literal translation of this ridiculous account but nothing is too childish or incredible for Abul Fazl's narrative.

DIVISION OF THE EARTH INTO COUNTRIES.

The learned have divided the *oikoy mene* into sever parts, to each of which they have given the name of *klima* Some reckon from the equator as Ptolemy shows in his [27] *Almagest*[34] Another school omitting 12° 45′ north of the equator, divide the remainder and terminate as is known at the 50° 31° parallel of latitude[35] In the former case, therefore, the parallels from the equator will be seven circles and in the latter, eight The seven belts which these lines form are called *climates* A climate therefore is a belt on the surface of the earth between two semi-circles parallel with

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[34] In the *Almagest* (II 6) he marks ten climates north of the equator, beginning at the parallel of Taprobane in lat 4° 15′ and ending at that of Thule in lat 63°, and in the south, beginning at the equator or the parallel of Cape Raptum and ending at the parallel of Antimeroe in 16° 25′ In the Geography he gives 19 climates, as far as the 16th climate, which is the arctic circle, twelve are determined by the increase of half an hour in the length of the longest day the 13th and 14th, one hour, and the 15th and 16th, two hours In the remaining climates within the arctic circle, the days no longer increase by hours but by months *Dict of Antiq* W Smith

[35] The double theory of longitude is thus explained by Albiruni in his XXIX Chap (Sachau's Transl I 304) "Some adopt as the beginning of longitude the shore of the Atlantic Ocean and they extend the first quarters as far as the environs of Balkh So that Shaburgān and Ujjain are placed on the same meridian A theory which so little corresponds to reality is quite valueless Others adopt the Islands of the Happy Ones as the beginning of longitude and the quarters of the *oikoumene* they extend thence as far as the neighbourhood of Jurjan and Nishapur" That is, with Ptolemy's division of the circumference of the globe into 360°, the 90° naturally fell in the middle of the habitable world and was taken as the central meridian This was accounted to pass through Lanka and Ujjain but they deflected it for some strange reason to the N-W Among the Arabs, some, after the example of Ptolemy, took their first meridian from the Fortunate Isles, others from the W Coast of Africa making a difference of 10° According to the first computation the 90° fell on Nishapur in Khorāsan, and according to the second on the town of Shaburgān about a day's march W of Balkh See Reinaud, *Geography*, I, ccxliv This difference of 10° may be constantly observed in comparing Abul Fazl's longitude with the authorities of Abulfeda

each other and with the equator. A climate increases in length as it approaches the equator, moreover its first parallel will be longer than its second. It is demonstrable from (experiment with) spheres that every parallel circle increases as it nears the equatorial line The length of the first parallel of the first climate is said to be 11,856 miles approximately, and the length of its second parallel 11,230, while the length of the last parallel of the seventh climate is 1,627 *farsakh*. But every climate, like the longitudinal extension of the earth from west to east, is divided into an equal number of degrees of longitude, and not more or less in proportion to its length. The latitude of each belt varies

There are two reasons given for the selection of seven as this number. The first is that ancient sages have verified by experience that each tract of superficial area was specially connected with one of the planets, as for instance, the first climate with Saturn. For this reason the inhabitants of that zone generally are dark-skinned, curly-haired, long-lived and indolent in action The second climate, according to the Persians, had an affinity with Jupiter, but according to the Romans, with the Sun The third climate, in the opinion of the former, with Mars, in that of the latter, with Mercury The fourth, with the Sun, as the first mentioned suppose, but with Jupiter according to the second opinion Both concur in ascribing the fifth to Venus The sixth is allotted by the first to Mercury, by the second to the Moon. The seventh, the former connect with the Moon, the latter with Mars The second opinion is that in former ages a single monarch ruled the whole habitable earth With far-seeing and prudent policy he divided it severally among his seven sons

The word *climate* may be taken in two senses, *viz.*, the ordinary sense in which men commonly speak of a tract of country as a climate, such as Rome, Turān, Irān and Hindustān, and the true signification already explained In

the latter meaning India is an aggregate of the first, second, third and fourth climates.

The beginning of the first climate is defined by general opinion to be north of the equator. Its latitude according to accurate information is 12° 42′ 2″ 39‴ Its longest day is 12 hours and 45 minutes. Its centre has a location according to concurrent testimony, where its longest day is 13 hours. Its latitude is 16° 37′ 30″ Twenty large mountains and thirty considerable rivers are comprised in it, and its population are generally black in colour.

The beginning of the second climate has a latitude of 20° 31′ 17″ 58‴ Its longest day consists of 13 hours fifteen minutes The longest day at its centre is 13 hours, 30 minutes. Its latitude is 24° 40′. It includes 27 mountains and 27 rivers The colour of the inhabitants of this zone is between black and wheat colour

The beginning of the third climate has a latitude of 27° 34′ 3″ 33‴. Its longest day is 13 hours, 45 minutes Its day at the centre is of 14 hours and the latitude 30° 40′ It comprises 33 mountains and 22 rivers, and its inhabitants are generally of a wheat colour

The beginning of the fourth climate has a latitude of 33° 43′ 17″ 36‴ Its longest day, 14 hours, 15 minutes. At the centre the longest day is of 14 hours, 30 minutes. Lat. 36° 22′. It includes 25 mountains and 22 rivers, the colour of its inhabitants is between wheat colour and a fair skin

The beginning of the fifth climate is in Lat 35° 0′ 19″ 5‴. Longest day, 14 hours, 45 minutes. Longest day at centre, 15 hours. Lat. 41° 15′. Colour of inhabitants fair. Has 30 mountains and 15 rivers.

The beginning of the sixth climate is in Lat 43° 29′ 58″ 8‴. Longest day, 15 hours, 15 minutes. Longest day at centre, 15 hours, 30 minutes. Lat. 45° 21′ Has 11

mountains 40 rivers Colour of inhabitants fair inclining to tawny and with tawny hair.

The beginning of the seventh climate is in Lat. 47° 58′ 59″ 17‴ Longest day, 15 hours, 45 minutes Longest day at centre, 16 hours. Lat. 48° 52′. Its mountains and rivers as in the sixth climate Colour of inhabitants ruddy and white Its extreme parallel according to general opinion is in Lat 50° 31′ 31″ 54‴. The longest day 16 hours, 15 minutes.

The differences in latitude of these climates are determined by the increase of half an hour in the length of the longest day. From the last parallel to the furthest inhabited point is not included in a climate on account of the paucity of its inhabitants Some suppose the northern-most parallel of the seventh climate to be the extreme of the habitable world According to others, the parallel of 50° 20′ is inhabited, but they do not include it in this climate, and there is an island called Thule in Lat 63° From the severity of the cold the inhabitants pass their days in heated chambers In Lat 63° 30′ is habitable land the dwellers wherein are Scythians as recorded by Ptolemy In Lat 66° a tract has been discovered the inhabitants of which resemble wild animals, as mentioned [29] by him in the Geographia The remaining portion of the quarter of the globe is according to some, a tenantless waste, while others regard it as simply unknown country. In Lat 54° and a fraction, the longest day is 17 hours, in Lat. 58°, 18 hours, in Lat 61°, 19 hours; in Lat 63°, 20 hours, in Lat. 64° 30′, 21 hours, in Lat 65° and a fraction, 22 hours, and in 66° 23 hours, and in the latitude, equal to the complement of the sun's greatest declination from the equator, 24 hours. In Lat. 67° the day increases by one month, in Lat. 70°, 1¾ months; in Lat 73° 30′, three months, in Lat. 78° 30′, four months, in Lat. 84°, five months, and in the Lat 90° which is the extremity of the

earth, the day is said to be of six months, and the other six months is night But it is more correct to say that a year is one nycthemeron. If the day be reckoned from sunrise to sunset, the day there would be seven nycthemera longer than the nights, but if it be calculated from the dawn of light and the disappearance of the fixed stars, to the occultation of light and the reappearance of the stars, the day there would be seven months and seven days and the remainder (*of the year*) night. Again if the day be counted from the dawn of morning to the evanescence of twilight, this day would be of nine months and seventeen days and the complement of the year would be the night.[36]

To lend an interest to this work a table of the various climates with other details is here introduced

Tables for the ascertainment of the Longitudes and Latitudes of places of the inhabited quarter of the globe from the Latitude of the Equator, according to the learned, especially of places beyond the limits of the seven climates to the 60th Degree of Latitude

PLACES BEYOND THE CLIMATES, ADJOINING THE EQUATOR

NAMES OF PLACES	LONGTUDE		LATITUDE		NOTES
	D	M	D	M	
The Equator	12				The lat is taken at 12° N of the true Equator V p 66
The Island of Tirufāi	12	35	15		
Shore of the Atlantic	11				

[36] The following table, from Ukert, showing the climates of Ptolemy (Geog I, 23) is taken from the Dict of Antiq for purpose of comparison with Abul Fazl's account

Climate	Parallel	Longest Day		Latitude		Passing through
		h	m			
	1	12	0	0°	0′	
I	2	12	15	4	15	Taprobane
	3	12	30	8	25	Sinus Avalites
II	4	12	45	12	30	Adule Sinus
	5	13	0	16	27	Meroe
III	6	13	15	20	14	Napata
	7	13	30	23	51	Syene
IV	8	13	45	27	12	Ptolemais in Egypt
	9	14	0	30	2	Lower Egypt
V	10	14	15	33	18	Middle of Phœnicia
	11	14	30	36	0	Rhodus
VI	12	14	45	38	35	Smyrna
	13	15	0	40	56	Hellespont
VII	14	15	15	43	41	Massilia
	15	15	30	45	1	Middle of the Euxine
VIII	16	15	45	46	51	Sources of the Danube
	17	16	0	48	32	Mouth of the Borysthenes
IX	18	16	15	50	4	Middle of Palus the Macotis
	19	16	30	51	40	Southern Britain
X	20	16	45	52	50	Mouths of the Rhine
	21	17	0	54	30	Mouths of the Tanais
XI	22	17	15	55	0	The Brigantes in Britain
	23	17	30	56	0	Brittania Magna
XII	24	17	45	57	0	Caturactonium in Britain
	25	18	0	58	0	South of Brittania Parsa
XIII	26	18	30	59	30	Middle of ditto
	27	19	0	61	0	North of ditto
XIV	28	19	30	62	0	Ebudes Insulae
	29	20	0	63	0	Thule
XV	30	21	0	64	30	Unknown Scythian Tribes
	31	22	0	65	30	Unknown Scythian Tribes
XVI	32	23	0	66	0	
	33	24	0	66°8′40″		
XVII	34	1 month about		67° 15′		
	35	—		69	30	
XVIII	36	—		73	20	
	37	—		78	20	
XIX	38	—		84	0	
	39	—		90	0	

PLACES BEYOND THE CLIMATES, ADJOINING THE EQUATOR

NAMES OF PLACES

Island of Qumbulah (Madagascar), Long 21, Lat 8 —Qumr, according to Yaqut *Ency Islam*, ııı 64

Sınus Avalıtes, Long 12 30, Lat 8 25 —The Gulf of Aden

Ghānah, gold mınes, a town ın the Sudan, Long 30, Lat 10 — Saıd by Ibn Sayd to be on the Nıger, gold dust exported M Cooley ın hıs *Negroland*, p 44 locates ıt near Tımbuctoo Abul Fed *Geog* Reınaud II, I, 21 *Ency Islam*, ıı 139

SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR

Gogo, Long 44, Lat 10 15 —On ıts W Ghānah on the E Kanem *Ency Islam*, ıı 172

Sofālah of the Zanȷ country, Long 52, Lat 2 30 —In the Mozambıque country, S of the Zambesı *Ency Islam*, ıv 469

Mıddle of the Lake of Koura, Long 80, Lat 4 —Accordıng to the *Resam Al Mamour*, ıts centre ıs placed ın 53½ Long, Lat zero Left bank 52 Long,, rıght bank 54 Ibn Sayd makes the Egyptıan Nıle flow out of ıts N quarter, the Nıle of Madakshon from the E and the Nıle of Ghanah (Nıger) from the W On ıts E and S a mountaın called Almaksam Reınaud, Abul F II, I *Ency Islam*, ııı 916-921 (under *al-Nıl*)

Jımı on the Nıle, Long 63 15, Lat 9 11 —The text has the mın of Lat 401 ! Accordıng to Ibn Sayd, ıt ıs ın 53 Long, Lat 9 3—capıtal of Kanem country and called by Maqrızı, *Aldȷema* Reınaud, *Geog Abulf*, II I

Saharta, Long 64, Lat 6 —A dıst of Abyssınıa, Long 54, Lat 5, but the 1st clımate of Ibn Sayd begıns from the Equator and termınates at 16 27 N Lat (Now called Tıgre, *Ency Islam*, I 119)

Jarmı, capıtal of Abyssınıa, Long 65, Lat 6 —Probably Jumı, ıdentıfied wıth Axum, formerly Axuma Reın *ıbıd Ency Islam*, ı 119

Zaghāwah, Long 66, Lat 2 —The Long varıes from 54 to 60 and the Lat from 1 to 11½ ın three tables gıven by Abul F The people of Zaghāwah are subȷect to the Kanem and theır country ıs 20 marches from Dongola For Kanem, *Ency Islam*, ıı 712-715,

lyah, Long 66, Lat 2—Long 57 3 N Lat 7, a town of Abyssinia S of Vefat or Aufat *Ency Islam*, i 119

lah, Long 71, Lat 8—Ibn Sayd 66 Long, 10 55 N Lat Kanun-ul-Mumtanih and Kitāb-ul Atwal, 61 (A port on the African coast of the Gulf of Aden *Ency Isl*, iv 1198)

:dishu, Long 72, Lat 2—Now called Magadoxo on the littoral below Somaliland *Ency Islam*, iii 165

·n, Long 76, Lat 11

ɔera, Long 78, Lat 6 30—In the Gulf of Aden

is Adulicus, Long 12 15, Lat 12 30—*Adoulikos Koltos*, Annesley Bay The text has confounded this with the Sinus Avalites, but Ukert's Table of climates shows what is intended Adulis, the modern Zulla is placed by Ptolemy, Long 67, Lat 11 66 *Cosmograph*,' Fol Venet, 1486

ıām, capital of Hadramaut, Long 81 15, Lat 12 30

bāt, between Hadramaut and Omān, Long 82, Lat 12—It is situate in the littoral of El Shehr and is the port of Dhafar The mountains of Dhafar are famed for the incense produced there

ıd of Serandip (Ceylon), Long 130, Lat 12—Atwal and Qānun, Long 12, Lat 10

ıd of Socotra, of India, Caret—Atwal, Long 74 30, Lat 12 Qānun Long 66 30, Lat 9 Abul F Long 74 30, Lat 9

ıntains of Qāmerun produces Lignum Aloes, Long 130, Lat 10—According to Reinaud (Introd Abulf ccclxxxvii) this is Kāmrup in Assam, called by the Arabs Camround and famous for its aloes

ıd of Lāmri, of India, produces the wood *baqqam* Long 130, Lat 9—The Lambri of Marco Polo (Rein II I 131), Baqqam is the Caesalpinia found in most parts of India of which Roxb gives 18 kinds It is a kind of Brazil wood

nd of Kalah, of India, Long 140, Lat 8—Called by Abulf the port of all the regions between Oman and China Exports tin called by its name, *i e*, *kalai*, which Reinaud says may be from the Malay *Kala* 'Walckenaer places Kalah in Malacca in the province of Keydah opposite the island of Sumatra *Ency Islam*, ii 669, under *Kalah* (fully discussed)

ıd of Mahārāj, of India, Long 150, Lat 1—A large island in the Green Sea (Indian Ocean) Abulf II, II, 132 Ibn Sayd says that the Mahārāja are in clusters of numerous

8

islands, the largest of which is the seat of royalty, most probably Borneo The Arabs extended India as far as the Java Archipelago, v Reinaud, I, cccxxxi

Yamakoti, Long 176, Lat 5

Sila, in China, Long 80, Lat 8 5 —Extreme of Eastern China Abulf Reinaud, II, II, p 124, according to Reinaud, Corea

Gangdizh, on the shore of the Eastern sea, Long 180

Iram, "adorned with lofty pillars" (*Qurān* 89) said to be in Yemen See Sale's *Koran* for the story of this paradise of Shaddād b 'Aād It was said to have been fashioned after the paradise of Adam, with walls of gold and columns of ruby and emerald *Ency Islam*, ii 519-520

THE FIRST CLIMATE

Shore of the Ocean, Long 20, Lat 16 31 —The Atlantic Ocean is meant, Greek *Okeanos*

Island of Mādunah, Long 23, Lat 36 27 —Perhaps Madura off Java *Ency Islam*, iii 103

Amalltu *variant* Amantu, Long 28 5, Lat 20 14

Barisā, Long 32, Lat 20 35 —According to Abulf a considerable town of Takrour, north of the Niger Edrisi mentions it as a village formed by some nomad clan, ten days march north of the Lemlem country Rein II I There is also a Berisa on the Red Sea below Port Mornington

Island of Suli, Long 38 30, Lat 28 —I find mention of only one Suli, a village watered by the An-Nahrouān canal from the Tigris, Abulf II, 70

Island of Sawakin, Long 58 30, Lat 17 —*Jazirah* signifies not only an island, but a peninsula or tract from which the sea has retired Ibn Batutah II, 161 describes his landing here from Jeddah on his way to Yemen *Ency Islam*, iv 184 under *Sawakin* (better known as Suakim), a sea-port on the west coast of the Red Sea

Turrah, Long 49 20, Lat 19 40 —A small town in Africa This is all Yaqut's information

Dunqulah (Dongola), Long 68, Lat 14 33 —*Ency Islam*, i 1072

Tiz in Yemen, caret—Abul Akul, Long 64 30, Lat 13 Ibn Sayd, Long 70, Lat. 14 30, by induction Long 65 30, Lat 13 40, A castle in the mountains dominating the

coast, residence of the princes of Yemen Abulf II I, 121 It is called *Hisn Tiz* See also Niebuhr *Desc de l'Arab*, p 209 *Ency Islam*, iv 624 (under Ta'izz)

Darqalah, Long 68 40, Lat 14 30—The proximity of location of this and the Dongola above, suggests the inference that these represent Old and New Dongola which in the map appear to be 60 or 70 miles apart

Bajah (Beja) of the Berber country, Long 65, Lat 14—This must refer to the El Beja between the Shatt Meldir and Shatt Gharnis in the province of Constantine, as the Bajah or Bejah W of Tunis occurs in the 3rd Climate Abulfeda places this according to the Atwal, in Long 55 N, Lat 2, and adds that it is beyond the 1st Climate in the Berbera country

Buldarah, in the Sudan, Long 68, Lat 17

Island of Dahlak, Long 71, Lat 14—An island in the Red Sea, opposite Massawa *Ency Islam*, i 893

Mārib, of Yemen, Long 78, Lat 14—Capital of the Tobbas of Yemen, now in ruins It is situated at the extremity of the Hadramaut chain *Ency Islam*, iii 280

Mahjam, of Yemen, Long 74 45, Lat 16—A small fortified town on the frontier between Tehāmah and Yemen 25 miles north of Hudaida *Ency Islam*, iv 144

Zabid, ditto, Long 74 20, Lat 14 10—On the Tehāmah of Yemen, its principal maritime port according to Albiruni, but its port is a place called Ghelfeca at a distance, in varying accounts, from 15 to 40 miles, Abulf *Ency Islam*, iv 1183

Hisn Dimlaut, do, Long 74 40, Lat 14 5—Dumluat, according to Yaqut, N of Aden in the Yemen hills, proverbial for its strength, v Abulf

Sharjah, of Yemen, Long 74 40, Lat 16 50—A small town in Yemen at a little distance from the sea

Janad ditto, Long 75 30, Lat 14 33—North of Hisn, Tiz, half a day's march Here is a mosque built by M'aāb b Jabal, one of the companions of Muhammad who died of the plague in Syria, A H 19 Abulf 123 *Ency Islam*, iv 144, 1155

Jublah, ditto, Long 74 30, Lat 18 30—Between Aden and San aa, in the mountains, it is E of Tiz and a little to the north, Abulf 122

Hisn Ba'dān, ditto, Long 75 30, Lat 38 40—A township in Yemen Yaqut See Niebuhr *Desc de l'Arab*, p 208

Najrān of Yemen, Long 76, Lat 19—Territory occupied by the Hamdān tribe, 10 marches from San'aā *Ency Islam*, iii 823

San'aā, capital of Yemen, Long 76, Lat 14 30—*Ency Islam*, iv 143-146

Damar in Yemen, Long 70, Lat 38 30—In the Atwal, Long 67, Lat 13 30, in the Qānun, Long 66, Lat 14 20, 16 parasangs from Dhafār (Zafar in *Ency Islam*, iv 1185)

Sirrain, do, Long 76 47, Lat 20—The min of Long in the text are wrong There are two places of this name, one on the sea shore near Mekka, and the other one of the dependencies of San'aā, the latter is meant v Niebuhr, 238 *Ency Islam*, iv 1155

Hali-ibn-Yāqub, do, Long 70 20, Lat 18 30—Deg of Lat omitted in text 19 parasangs, S of Sirrain Abulf *Ency Islam*, ii 238

Khaiwān, do, Long 70 21, Lat 15 20—Formerly residence of the Himyarite kings The ruins of an ancient palace still to be seen Abulf II, I, 128 Niebuhr, 229, Yāqut

S adah, do, Long 70 20, Lat 16—16 parasangs from San'aā, a flourishing town Abulf 128 *Ency Islam*, iv 33

Dhafār, do, Long 70 30, Lat 18 20—Yāqut gives Long 78, Lat 15, and says there are two of the name, one near San'aā, a seat of the Himyarite kings, the other, well-known, on the shore of the Arabian Sea on El Shehr *Ency Islam*, iv 1155 gives Dofār

Jurash, a town of Omān on the sea coast, Long 70 50, Lat 17—Yāqut and Abulf place it in Yemen, abounding in palm trees, its staple manufacture the dressing of leather

Suhār in Oman, Long 84, Lat 19 20—Well-known, on the sea coast of Oman *Ency Islam*, iv 504-506

Extremity of the province of Mahrah in Yemen, Long 85, Lat 18—In the Atwal, Long 73, Lat 16, a dependancy of Yemen, their language apparently the Himyarite dialect, famous for its camels called Mahriyah *Ency Islam*, iii 138-144

Island of Rānij in the Indian Ocean, Long 104, Lat 15—Properly, Labij These islands are probably those of the Java Archipelago, and are the same as those called Mahārāj above

mentioned Abulf Guyard II, II, 126, and index to Lābij [There is a *Labij*, the capital of a Sultanate in S Arabia, north-west of Aden, *Ency Islam*, iii 5 J S]

Tānah on the Indian Ocean, Long 102, Lat 19 20 —Thanah, Bombay

M'abar in India, Long 102, Lat 17 20 —Coromandel Ibn Sayd gives the Long 142° Abulf II, II, 121

Kaulam in India, here pepper and brazil wood in great abundance, Long 102, Lat 18 30 —Ibn Sayd, Long 132, Lat 12 Atwal, Long 110, Lat 13 30 This is Quilon in the Travancore State

Zaitun on the frontier of China, Long 154, Lat 17 6 —Tseou thoung or Tsiuan-tcheou Abulf II, II, 123 It was visited by Ibn Batutah (IV, 269), called by the translators Thsiuan-tchoufou

Sufārah, China, Long 104 55, Lat 19 20 —There are but two of this name in Abulf, one in Africa below Zanzibar, the other in India, a flourishing port known for its fisheries and pearls, five marches from Sindān

Sindān in China, Long 114 20, Lat 19 50 —In Abulf, another reading is said to be Sindāpur, placed by one authority at 3 days' march from Tānah on the frontier between Guzerat and Malabar Another account places it within 15 parasangs of Mansurah Yāqut places it between Daybul and Mansurah

Khānku in China, Long 150, Lat 14 —This is on the Hangtcheou Abulf II, II, Guyard, but the Long is 162, according to Qānun and Atwal

Khānju, do, Long 162, Lat 14 —According to Abulf both these towns are situated on the river, as the Arabs believed that all the rivers of China were ramifications of a single stream If this be the Yang-tsze-kiang, the towns of Hangkow and Hwang-choo seem to answer this description, as Abulf says that Tājah (Taichow) is to E of Khanjow Their identification is not attempted by Guyard

Sandābil in China, a city of the first magnitude, Caret —Not mentioned by Abulf, but this is evidently a corruption of *Khānbāligh*, a well-known name of Pekin, already mentioned in Vol II, p 118, see De Guig, *Hist des Huns* III, 147 Yāqut

describes Sandābil in terms that leave no doubt as to its identity It is the *Cambalu* of Marco Polo *Ency Islam*, iv 148

Samandān,

'Allāqi, said by some to be in the 2nd climate The Atwal gives the Long 58, Lat 26 *Qānun*, Long 55, Lat 27 Ibn Sayd, Long 63, Lat 20 3, a town in the Beja country on the Red Sea littoral The mountain of 'Allāqi contains a gold mine It is 12 marches E of Assouan See D Herbelot

Sofālah of India, here is found a bird that talks better than a parrot Of this town Gildemeister says, (*De Reb Indicis*, p 45) "Huc pertinet urbs Sufāra de cujus situ omnis interiit memoria, ex sola nominum serie colligi potest eam Barog (Broach?) et Tanam quarendam McCrindle says that Dr Burgess has satisfactorily identified it with Supara, 6 miles north of Bassein

Shahnaj The text suggests Shanju

Kāa, between Oman and Hadramaut Mentioned by Yāqut as a pilgrim s station on the road to Mecca after leaving Aqabah

Lānjuyah, a large island near the Zanj country, the vine here bears thrice a year Lānjuyah, according to Yāqut is a large island, capital of the Zanj kingdom, frequented by ships from every port, now deserted, the inhabitants who are Muslims having moved to another island called Tambatu He also mentions the fruitfulness of its vines This is the island of Zanzibar, which in Custs map (*Modern Language of Africa*) is marked Ungujah

Alanjah, one of the towns of north Africa, has an emerald mine I find no other trace of this name, but it is again referred to under the 2nd Climate as an emerald mine The *Nuzhat ul Mushtāq* says that near Assouan south of the Nile, there is a mountain with an emerald mine and this gem is found alone here

Shilā (or Shablā)—A district called Shilha is marked in Cust's map of North Africa, opposite the Canaries and stretches towards the Mediterranean

Qulzum on the Red Sea littoral —The ancient Clysma See Niebuhr *Desc de l'Arab*, p 357 Abulf gives the location according to the Atwal, Long 54 15, Lat 29 30 Qānun, Long 56 30, Lat 28 20 and places it in the 3rd Climate

Bakıl in Yemen, here a tree grows from which they extract a poison

The text has Bakbal, which is an error. Niebuhr (p. 225) treats of the allied clans of Hashid and Bakil at some length and gives their romantic origin Yāqut speaks of this tree without naming it, and says it is as much or more prized and guarded by the people there than the balsam by the Egyptians It was in special request for removing crowned heads, and the chiefs of the Bani Najah and their ministers are distinguished by having been the frequent subjects of experiment as to the deadly effects of its poison

Ka'ārah —A village in Yemen, in the neighbourhood of Damar Yāqut

Takrur —Name of a town, capital of a district of the same , the Long 17, Lat 3 30 Ibn Sayd Situated on the banks of the Niger D Herbelot places it to the W of and 2 days' journey from Sālah on the same river and 140 days' journey from Sejelmāsah, now Tafilet The Takrur country corresponds, according to Reinaud, with the region of which Timbuctoo is the principal town *Ency Islam*, iv 632

Rāmani —Yāqut gives a village of this name two leagues distant from Bokhara, now in ruins Reinaud mentions an island called Alramni said to be near Ceylon which produced elephants and brazil wood and inhabited by cannibals, said by Abu Zayd to be among the Zabij island, *i e* , Java Archipelago *Geog Abulf* I CDVI

Qalhāt, in Yemen —A port on the coast of Oman, visited by ships from India and one of its best towns, not older than the 5th century of the Hijra, Yāqut It is marked in Niebuhr's map of Oman, p 265 *Desc de l'Arab*

Mu'allā, in Yemen —A small town of Hijaz Yāqut

Madinat-u't-Tayyib, Yemen —Medinah is mentioned by Niebuhr as applied to Sana'a in Yemen, but I do not find the following epithet Sana'a has already been given, and the Medinah *par excellence* comes in the next climate, with a similar epithet somewhat differently written For the holy Medina of the Prophet, *Ency Islam*, iii 83

Sahar, in Yemen —Niebuhr gives the name with a different spelling *Shahr*, as a small coast town in Yemen in the province of Yafa' from which incense is exported Abulf places it between Aden and Dhafar

THE SECOND CLIMATE

al Aqsa, Long 15 30, Lat 22.—Sus the remote, was so named from its situation at the extreme of Mauritania It was a town according to D'Herb at the foot of mount Atlas and was also called Taroudant, but Abulf makes the latter the capital of Sus It would cover the extent now known as Morocco *Ency Islam*, iv 568

tah, do, called also Nawa, Long 17 30, Lat 27 —Lamtah and Lamtunā are two Berber tribes in the south of Morocco *Ency Islam*, iii 14-15 The home town of the former is called *Nul* (?=*Nawa*)

ih, do, Long 21 6, Lat 27 10 —Ibn Sayd says it stands on the river D'arah Idrisi says it stands on the side of the desert of Lamtunā

ighast, do, Long 25, Lat 26 —A town in the midst of the Sahara inhabited by Berber Moslems, the supremacy belonging to the Sanhaja tribe Another account makes it a large tract of which the capital goes by the same name and is situated on the mountains S of Sejelmāsah and 40 marches distant Major Rennel supposes it to be the modern town of Aghades, N W of the Lake Tchad

mābah, Long 32 15, Lat 25 15 —I do not find this name The map marks a district and town as Tagama directly S of Aghades

in Upper Egypt, Long 61 30, Lat 24 30 —The text has *Qurs* incorrectly The ancient Apollinopolis Parva, on the Nile directly north of Karnak It is described by the Yākut as a large and flourishing town

im, do, Long 61 30, Lat 26 —A supposed corruption of the ancient Egyptian name Chemnis, the Panopolis of the Greeks The Chem or Pan of this city was an Icthyphallic god, having been a site of Panic worship, and it was celebrated for its temple of Perseus

ir, do, Long 61 40, Lat 24 —According to Yāqut in the Thebaid on the east bank of the Nile above Qus Preceded by the Arabic article, the transition to *Luxor* is natural

do, Long 62, Lat 28 30 —Yākut gives the Long 54 24 and Lat 24 40 The modern Esneh, the ancient Latopolis, which name was derived from the fish Lato, the largest of

the 52 species that inhabit the Nile and which appears in sculptures among the symbols of the Goddess Neith, Pallas Athene, surrounded by the oval ring of royalty or divinity

Ansinā, do, Long 68, Lat 28—The ancient Antinoe, the ruins of which are still called by the Copts *Enseneh* It was built by Hadrian in memory of his favourite Antinous to whom divine honours were paid as a local deity

Uswān, Long 66, Lat 22 30—The ancient *Syene* and commonly Assouan in the maps

Ma'dan-i-Zamurrad, Emerald mine, mentioned under Alanjah, Long 64 15, Lat 21

Taimā, in Syria, Long 67 15, Lat 25 40—Atwal Long 60, Lat 30 Qānun Long 58 30 Lat 26, a small town between Syria and Wadi-al-Kura on the road of pilgrims from Syria and Damascus According to Yāqut, here was the castle of the famous Samuel, son of Adiya, the Jew, from whose fidelity to his word has arisen the Arabic proverb "more faithful than Samuel" *Ency Islam*, iv 622

Ma'adan-i-Zahab (The Gold mine)—Known as a mountain in Yemen

Aidhāb, Long 68 40, Lat 21 40—A port on the Red Sea, near Suākin It is mentioned by Ibn Batutah in his Travels, Vol II 160 Abulfeda calls it the rendezvous of pilgrims and merchants embarking for Jeddah He gives the Long 58, Lat 21

Allāqi, Long 68 40, Lat 27 15—Mentioned under the 1st climate

Qusair Long 69, Lat 26—Kosseir, a port on the Red Sea opposite the Brothers' on the African side

Qatif, in Bahrein, Long 74 40, Lat 22 35—Well-known, on the Persian Gulf, in the province of al Hasā

Al Yambu, Long 74 40, Lat 26—Ibn Sayd, Long 64, Lat 26, a small town west of Medina in the littoral of Hijāz, commonly written Yembo

Juhfah, in Hijāz, Long 74 40, Lat 22—Formerly a large village, now in ruins, on the road to Medina from Mecca, four stages from the latter town Yāqut

Medina the Pure, in Hijāz, Long 75 20, Lat 25 50—Called also Medina the Prophetic

Khaibar, in Hijāz, Long 70 20, Lat 25 20—Well-known in Hijāz

Juddah in Hijāz, Long 70 10, Lat 21 15 —Commonly called Jeddah

Mecca, the Glorious, Long 70, Lat 21 40

Tāif, in Hijāz, Long 70 30, Lat 21 20

Furu in Hijāz, Long 70 30, Lat 26 —A large village between Mecca and Medina, four nights' journey from the latter Yāqut

Faid in Hijāz, Long 78 10, Lat 25 —The text is in error in the minutes of Lat and gives an impossible figure , the Lat in Atwal is 26 50 and another authority gives 27 in Abulf Gladwin likewise reads 27 Faid is in Nejd and not in Hijāz

Hajar in Hijāz, Long 81 10, Lat 22 —In Yemāmah, and its chief city Here are the tombs of those who fell fighting against the impostor Musaylimah Abulf Yāqut says that it formerly bore the name of Yemāmah

Island of Tuqālābis off Hijāz, Long 81, Lat 27 12 —Untraceable, the name reads like a corruption from the Greek, and may be either Sucabia (now Shushuah) at the mouth of the Gulf of Aqabah or Timagenis the modern Mushābea Ptolemy places this in Long 66, Lat 29 15

Island of Suli, off Hijāz, Long 81, Lat 25 15 —See this name in the 1st Climate It may be the ancient Sela, off Moilah or Muweilah on the Hijāz coast

Lower extremity of the Egyptian Sea, of Hijāz, Long 81 30, Lat 21 —Presumably any part that corresponds with the location

Yemāmah, Long 81 5, Lat 21 30 —*Ency Islam*, iv 1154, *al-Yamama*, a district in Central Arabia

Ahsā, in Bahrein, Long 88 30, Lat 22 – The word signifies, according to Yāqut, water absorbed by the earth and penetrating to hard soil where it is retained The sand is removed by the Arabs and the water is taken up It also means sand heaped over rocky ground to which the rain percolates through the sand

The Sea of Bahrein, Long 83 30, Lat 24 15

The extreme point of Bahrein, Long 84 20, Lat 25 15

Ma'adan-i-Zahab, Long 67 15, Lat 21 5 —See above

Island of Awāl, Long 86, Lat 22 —One of the island off Bahrein near Qatif at one day's sail Two days would be required to traverse it either in length or breadth It is the best of the pearl fisheries and contains 300 villages Abulf This

island is not marked in the maps under this name But its position in Abulfeda seems to mark it as the I of Sumak in the Bahrein Gulf In Istakhri's peculiar geographical map, it is located as one of 3 large islands in a sea which no imagination can shape into the semblance of any waterway of the world

Island of Silāb, Long 88 30, Lat 25 —I do not trace the name

Hormuz, Long 92, Lat 25

Jiraft, Long 98, Lat 27 30 —A flourishing town in Kirmān, a rendezvous for merchants from Khurāsān and Sijistān, 4 days' march from Hormuz Abulf I do not find it under this name in Keith Johnstone

Daibal, Long 102 31, Lat 24 20 —Or Debal For the celebrated port in Sind, see Cunningham, *Anc Geog* 297 Its position is still disputed and is likely to remain so

Tiz, a town on the Makān coast Long 83, Lat 24 5

Birun in Makrān, Long 84 30 Lat 24 5 —This is placed by Ibn Haukal between Debal and Mansurah Abulf Reinaud II II 112

Mansurah, Sind, Long 105, Lat 26 40 —The ancient Muhammadan capital of Sind, see Cunningham, *Anc Geog* 271

The Idol (temple) of Somnāt, India, Long 107 10, Lat 22 15

Ahmadābād of Gujrāt, India, Long 108 30, Lat 23 15

Nahrwālah, *i e*, Pattan Gujarat, Long 92 5, Lat 28 30 —Now in the Gaikwar's territory

Amarkot, birthplace of His Majesty, Long 100, Lat 24

Mando, Capital of Mālwah, Long 95 35 Lat 25 5

Ujjain, Long 110 50, Lat 28 30 —From this town was reckoned the longitude of the Hindus Albiruni, *India*, 1004 corrupted to Arin by the Arabs

Bahroch (Broach), Long 116 53, Lat 27

Kambayat (Cambay), Long 109 20 Lat 26 20

Kanauj, Long 116 50, Lat 26 35

Karrah, Long 101 30, Lat 25 36 —See Vol II under Subah of Allahabad

Surat, India, Long 110, Lat 21 30

Saronj, India, Long 114 59, Lat 27 22

Ajmer, India, Long 111 5, Lat 26

Qartia? India, —Probably a mistake for *Merta* in Marwār (J S)

Benares, India, Long 119 15 Lat 25 17

Mahurah, on both sides of the river, Long 116, Lat 27 —*Qānun*, Long 104, Lat 27 15 Atwal, Long 106, Lat 27 A town of the Brahmans on both sides of the Ganges between Kanauj and the Ocean Abulf This is probably Mathurah (Muthra)

Agra, India, Long 115, Lat 26 43

Fathpur, India, Long 115, Lat 26 41

Gwalior, India, Long 115, Lat 26 29

Mānikpur, India, Long 101 33, Lat 25 5 —Usually joined to *Kara*, as *Korah* is to Allahabad

Jaunpur India, Long 119, Lat 26 36

Sonārgaon, India, Long 101 50 Lat 22 2

Panduā in Bengal, Long 128, Lat 25

Lakhnauti, in Bengal, Long 128 Lat 26 30

Fort of Kālinjar, Long 116 30, Lat 25

Ajodhya, Long 116 32, Lat 25 50

Shergarh, There is a *Shergarh*, 16 m n of Mathura [J S]

Muner, Long 121 31, Lat 26 16 —In the Patna district (*Maner*)

Illahābās, Long 118 25, Lat 26

Bhilsa, Long 98 2 Lat 24 31

Ghāzipur Long 104 5, Lat 25 32

Hājipur, Patna, Long 120 46, Lat 26 5 —The text has an impossible figure for the degrees of Long

Lakhnau, Long 116 6, Lat 26 30

Dukam, —Dogam, a mint-town of the Mughal emperors for copper coins, near Bahraich in Oudh [J S]

Daulatābād, Long 101, Lat 25

Etāwah, Long 99 55, Lat 26 5

Awadh, Long 116 25, Lat 26 55

Deogir, Long 111, Lat 25

Fathpur, Long 100 50, Lat 25 55

Dalmau, Long 102 5, Lat 24 35

Kālampur,

Korah, Long 100 5, Lat 26 15 —See under Allahabad, Vol II

Usyut, Upper Egypt, Long 51 5, Lat 22 10 —(If Assuan written in Arabic also as Uswan, *Ency Islam*, i 492 J S)

Biskarah in Mauritania, Long 34 25, Lat 27 30 —On the Jedi river, S E of Algiers *Ency Islam*, i 732 (*Biskra*)

Najiram, Long 87 30, Lat 26 40 —A small town between Sirāf

and Basrah situate on the mountains near the sea Yāqut says he had often visited it *Ency Islam*, iii 823-825 gives a *Najran* in Yemen Not this

Najd, the region between Hijāz and Irāq

Māyah,

Khalih? —Unintelligible variants in text

Yanju, capital of China, Long 125, Lat 22—Yang-tcheou, according to Reinaud

Mānchu, in China, Long 127, Lat 39

Narwar, in India, Long 98 5, Lat 25 33

Chinapattan, Long 100 10, Lat 18 5—Chinnapattanam is marked in K Johnstone near and north of Seringapatam Also the old local name of Madras town

Haldārah?

Barām?

Tibbet, Long 114, Lat 27 30—This name is marked, doubtful in text

Taktābād, —Var Naktābād

Hasābah? —Var Hālsar?

Salāyah, —Var Salāmat

Awilah? or Rawilah?

Tayfah?

Kashmir? —In the text marked doubtful

Kalisah or Kaliksa,

Malibar, *ie* Mabar This name has preceded in the 1st Climate and its location given These repetitions are frequent among Eastern Geographers and Reinaud notices the laxity of Edrisi in this particular, I CCCXV

Maqruqin?

Nadimah?

A'yinba'? —Probably Yanbo, already preceded

Batn Marrah, Long 77, Lat 21 55—Properly *Batn Marr*, near Mecca

Qift, Upper Egypt, Long 61 18, Lat 24—Copt or Koft, or Keft in K Johnstone, a short distance below Qus, on the Nile

Armant, Do, Long 51 5, Lat 24—Erment, the ancient Hermonthis It stands slightly south-west of Luxor

Island of Qais Arbicised form of Kais in the Persian Gulf, Long 78, Lat 28—*Ency Islam*, ii, 649

Island of Lār in the Persian Gulf, Long 88 30, Lat 25—An

island now called *Abu Shu'aib* The Greeks praised the pearl fisheries of Lār *Ency Islam*, iii 17

Lahsā?

THE THIRD CLIMATE

Asafi, North Africa, Long 2, Lat 30—Popularly called Safi (*Ency Islam*, iv 56 under *Safi*) A few miles south of Cape Cantin in Morocco, on the Atlantic Ocean

Fās, Do, Long 18, Lat 32—Fez

Island of Jarbah, Do, Long 39, Lat 32—Called Jerba in Keith Johnstone, an island in the Gulf of Cabes (Syrtis Minor) off the Tunis Coast *Ency Islam*, i 1036

Sejelmāsah, Long 25, Lat 31 30—Yaqut places it 10 days' journey from Fez to the S See *Ency Islam*, iv 404, under Sidjilmāsa, which was the capital of *Tafilālt* (iv 603)

Marākash, Long 21, Lat 29—Morocco

Tādelā, Mauritania, Long 22° Lat 30′—Tadla, between Morocco and Fez

Telemsān, Long 24, Lat 33 40—See *Ency Islam*, iv 801 under *Tlemcen* 'In Arabic *Tilimsan* The old town was called both Tlemcen and Agadir 1-30 W Long of Greenwich, and 34-53 N Lat Named *Pomaria* by the Romans Modern name *Tagrart*'' (J S)

Mediterranean Coast, Mauritania, Long 25

Biskarah, Long 32, Lat 30 35—This name has already occurred with a different location in the 2nd Climate The name has a variant Selah, in the text

Tāhart-i-Ulya, Long 35 30, Lat 29—Upper Tahart *Ency Islam*, iv 610(under *Tahert*)

Tāhart-i-Sufla, Long 36 30 Lat 29—Lower Tahart, Yāqut says that these two towns face each other and lie 5 miles apart, and he calls the Upper the ancient, and the Lower, the modern on the eastern border of the modern province of Oran (in Algeria)

Satif, Africa, Long 37, Lat 31—Satif, south-west of Constantine

Mesilah, Long 38 40, Lat 30 25—Pronounced also Emsila In the maps Msila in the province of Biskarah, a town founded by the Fatimite Caliph Qāim-billāh A H 315 (A D 927) who gave it the name of Muhammadiyah, Abulf II, I 191

Bājah, Do, Long 39 5, Lat 31—Situate according to Abulf between Bugie and Tunis, at one march distant from Thabarca, and 5 from Qairawān The river Maguyla flows between it and Bone This fixes its position as the Beja of Keith Johnstone, in the province of Tunis

Kairawān, Do, Long 41, Lat 31 40—This is not to be confounded with the ancient Cyrene, as Gibbon notices has been done by one eminent geographer

Mahdiyah, Long 32, Lat 32 30—Founded by the Mahdi 'Ubaydullah the founder of the Fatimite Dynasty, (v Suyuti's *Hist of the Caliphs* Jarrett, p 3 et seq) It is situate on the coast below Monaster

Tunis, Long 42 30, Lat 38 31

Lower extremity of the Egyptian Sea, Egypt, Long 44, Lat 30 22

Middle of Syria, Long 44 35, Lat 33 38

Island of Rhodes Long 44 30, Lat 36

Susah, Africa, Long 44 40, Lat 32 30—On the Gulf of Hammamet, north-west of Monaster

Atrābulus, Africa, Long 44, Lat 32 30—Tripoli

Tuzar, Africa, Long 46 30, Lat 29—Province of Tunis on the Shatt Kabir

Zawilah, Africa Long 49 40, Lat 30—In the Fezzan This was the name also of a quarter in the city of Mahdiyah and of Cairo Abulf v De Sacy *Chrest Arab* I 495

Kasr-i-Ahmad, Africa, Long 51 25, Lat 33 30—On the border of the Barkah country according to Ibn Sayd, on the east of the province of Africa proper It is but a small village serving as a store for goods of Arab merchants The desert intervenes between this and Barkah Abulf

Barkah, Africa, Long 52 45, Lat 32

Tulmaitha, Long 44, Lat 38 10—Situate at the foot of the mountains of Cyrenaica on the sea-shore The ancient *Ptolemais*

Madinah-i-Surt, Long 57, Lat 31—*Sort* in Keith J is a district on the littoral of the Gulf of Sidra, the *Syrtis Major* Abulf quoting Ibn Sayd makes it a town, formerly one of the capital cities of the country but destroyed by the Arabs The Fatimite Caliph Al Mui'zz constructed reservoirs in the desert for use on his journeys from Sort and Fayyum

'Akabah, northern extremity of Egypt Long 39, Lat 30

Bahnasa, Long 61 32, Lat 28 35 —This village stands on part of the site of the ancient Oxyrynchus which received its name from a fish of the sturgeon species (*accipenser sturio* Linn) which was an object of religious worship There remain some broken columns of the ancient city and a single Corinthian column without leaves or volutes, partly buried in the sand, probably of the age of Diocletian It became the site of an episcopal see *Geog Dict* Smith

Iskandariyah, Long 61 54, Lat 30 58 —Alexandria

Rashid, Long 62 20, Lat 31 —Rosetta.

Misr, Long 63, Lat 30 20 —Cairo

Dimyāt, Long 68 50, Lat 31 25 —Damietta

Fayyum, Long 68 50, Lat 29 —The canal which connects, or connected it with the Nile, is said by Abulf to have been constructed by the patriarch Joseph, to whom a great number of the ancient monuments have been ascribed

Qulzum, Long 66 3, Lat 29 30 —Niebuhr places the ruins of the ancient Klisma, a little to the north of Suez v Tab XXIV, *Descp de l'Arab*

Tinnis, one of the Egyptian isles, Long 64 30, Lat 30 40 —An island in Lake Tinnis (Lake Menzaleh) a little south of Port Said

Ghazzah, frontier of Palestine, Long 66 10, Lat 32 —Gaza

Arish, Long 66 15, Lat 26 36 —It is on the littoral between Palestine and Egypt and marked by Ibn Khaldun, (*Proleg* 110) as on the extreme frontier of Egypt Edit Quatremere

Bait ul Muqaddas, Long 66 30 Lat 31 50 —Jerusalem

Ramlah, Long 66 50, Lat 32 10

Kaisariyah, Long 66 15, Lat 32 30 —Cæsarea

Ammān, a dependency of Balqa, Long 66 20, Lat 31 3 —Rabbath Ammon, the ancient capital of the Ammonites (*Deut* iii 11) It was besieged by Joab and taken by David (2 *Sam* xi I xii 26-31) Its destruction denounced by Jeremiah (xlix 3 *Ezech* xxv 5) It was restored by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who gave it the name of Philadelphia *Geog Dict* W Smith

Askalān, Palestine, Long 66 30, Lat 32 15 —Ascalon

Yafa, Palestine, Long 66 15, Lat 32 40 —Jaffa

Karak, Long 66 50, Lat 31 30,—Kerak-Moab is the district cor-

responding to the country of Moab The chief town of the same name is marked in Keith Johnston

Tabariyah of the Jordan, Long 68 15, Lat 32 5 —Tiberias

Baisan, Long 68, Lat 32 50 —Beth-San, or Scythopolis, in the *Judges*, LXX i 27

It was a city of the Manassites, locally situated in the tribe of Issachar Placed by Josephus at the S extremity of Gallilee, who calls it the chief city of the Decapolis Ptolemy reckons it one of the cities of Cœlesyria *Dict* Smith

'Akqa, coast of Syria, Long 68 20, Lat 33 30 —Acre

Sur, coast of Damascus, Long 68 35, Lat 32 40 —Tyre

Hajar, Long 68 30, Lat 28 30 —This is probably Hajar Shughlan, a fortress belonging to the Knights Templars, in the mountain of Lokkām, near Antioch, overlooking the lake of Yaghra Yāqut

Saidā, littoral of Damascus, Long 68 55, Lat 33 —Sidon

Balb'ak, of Damascus, Long 70, Lat 38 50

Damascus, capital of Syria, Long 70, Lat 33 30

Hit, Syria, on the Euphrates, Long 78 20, Lat 33 15 —Not in Syria (Shām) as Abul Fazl writes, but in Arabian 'Irāq

Hillah, in 'Irāq, Long 79, Lat 32 —There are several of the name , the Hillah of Bani Kailah, between Wāsit and Basrah , the Hillah of Dabais b Afif ul Asadi, between Basrah and Ahwāz, and the Hillah of Bani-l-Marāk near Mausil The Hillah of the text is on or near the ruins of Babylon

Kufah, on a branch of the Euphrates, Long 79 30, Lat 31 30 — The ruins of this once famous town alone are left

Arbār, 'Irāq, Long 79 30, Lat 33 5

Ukbarā, Do , Long 79 30, Lat 33 30 —On the Tigris, ten parasangs from Baghdad

Baradān, on the Tigris, Long 79 50, Lat 33 30 —In the map, near a small affluent of the Tigris The text has *Bardān*, I follow the orthography of Yāqut

Baghdad, Long 80, Lat 33 25

Madāin-i-Kisra, opposite stood the palace of the Khusraus, Long 80 20, Lat 33 —The ancient Ctesiphon, described by Strabo, as the winter residence of the Parthian kings, and by Tacitus "sedes imperii" See its description in Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch, 24

Hajar, of Hijāz, Long 80 30, Lat 28 30 —This name occurs in the 2nd Climate with a different location Yāqut mentions three others, but of no significance

Bābil, 'Irāq, Long 80 55, Lat 32 15 —Babylon

Nuamāniyah, Do Long 81 20, Lat 33 —Between Baghdad and Wāsit It is the chief town of the Upper Zāb Abulf

Qasr Ibn i Hubayrah, Do Long 80 30, Lat 32 45 —One letter (m) is omitted in the text of the minutes of latitude This town is on the Euphrates having Karbala a short distance directly to the west on the desert It takes its name from Yazid-b-Omar-b Hubairah governor of Irāq, in the time of Marwān al Himāi Abulf

Jarjarāyā, Irāq, Long 80 30, Lat 33 3 —Near the Tigris between Baghdad and Wāsit

Famu's Silh Do, Long 80 45 Lat 32 40 —m omitted in min of Long on the W of the Tigris, 7 parasangs from Wāsit It was here that the espousals of the Caliph Mamun with Burān took place

Jalulā, Do Long 87 10 Lat 33 30 —Deg of Lat wrongly printed in text It was here that Yezdajird was defeated in 16 A H and fled to Rai It is both a town and a river according to Yāqut, the river being named from the multitude *Jad* of the slain The Jalulā is probably the present *Dyalah* See my Transl *Hist of Caliphs*, p 135, and 231 for the note above

Wāsit, Do Long 81 30 Lat 32 25

Hulwān Do, Long 82 55, Lat 34

Basrah, Do, Long 84, Lat 33

Ubullah, Do, Long 84, Lat 30 15 —At the mouth of the Tigris canals of the same name which leads to Basrah, four miles in length

Ahwāz in Khuzistān Long 85 Lat 31 3 —On the river Kārun

Tustar Do, Long 84 30, Lat 31 30 —Now Shuster

Arjān, Do, Long 84 30, Lat 30 32 —Or arabicised Arrajān, 60 parasangs from Suk-ul-Ahwāz and 60 from Shirāz and one day's march from the sea Meynard *Dict de la Perse* On the frontier of Fārs on the Khuzistān side Abulf

'Askar Mukram in Khuzistān, Long 84 35, Lat 31 15 —Eight parasangs from Tustar It was called after Mukram-b-ul M'aza despatched by Hajjāj-b Yusuf against Khuzād-b Bās,

his stay in this town gave it the name of the Camp of Mukram Abulf —Yāqut

Island of Suqutra, off Khuzistān Long 84 30, Lat 33 —Socotra

Hisn i Mahdi, in Khuzistān, Long 85 15, Lat 30 15 —According to Yāqut and Ibn Haukal, the waters of Tustar, Daurak and Ahwāz unite near the fort and form a large river that disembogues in the sea Azizi makes it 11 parasangs from this to Ubulla

Siniz, Persian Gulf, Long 84 45, Lat 32 - The 5 in minfl of Long omitted in text —A small town almost in ruins in the Ahwāz district from this to Jannābah the road runs along the sea coast Abulf

Abbadān Do Long 106 30, Lat 30 —At the mouth of the Tigris

Rām Hurmuz, in Khuzistan, Long 85 45, Lat 31 —Omitted 5 in text The town is marked in Keith Johnston

Isfahan Persia, Long 86 40 Lat 22 25

Kāzrun, Do, Long 87 30, Lat 29 55

Shushtar, Do, Long 86 20, Lat 21 30 —This is the same as Tustar which is the Arabic form of the name (Yāqut) Abul Fazl has given it a different Long and Lat to Tustar above, it is probably a copyist's interpolation

Shāpur, Do, Long 87 55 Lat 30 —The ruins of this town above Kisht and near Kazrān are marked in K J The word is Sabur in Yāqut a corruption he says of Shāhpur It is also a district, and Sābur was one, but not the largest, of its towns It was built by one of the monarchs of this name of which there were three, the captor of Valerian, (A D 240), Sapor II (310), Sapor III (385)

Umān, Do, Long 67 20, Lat 21 —No such name occurs in Faristān, and indeed no other than the east coast of the Arabian Peninsula of which according to Yāqut the Long is 34 30, Lat 19 45

Naubandajān Long 107 55, Lat 30 10 —According to Yāqut a town of importance in the district of Sābur, and said by Ibn Faqih to be its chief town He distinguishes it from the town Shāhpur or Sābur, but Guyard (II II 95 n) makes them the same Yāqut states that Naubanjān was a fort in the city of Naubandajān The former name is in Keith J, the latter not

Jannābah, known as Gandābah, Long 87 25, Lat 30—In K J *Gunāwa*, on the Persian Gulf

Abarkuh in Fārs, Long 87 20, Lat 31 30

Firozābād in Fārs, Long 87 30, Lat 28 10

Shirāz in Fārs, Long 88, Lat 29 36

Sirāf in Fārs Long 89 30, Lat 29 30

Shabānkārah in Fārs, Long 89, Lat 28 23—The name of a Kurdish tribe and their country, bounded by Fārs, Kirmān, and the Persian Gulf (*Ency Islam*, iv 240 J S)

Istakhr in Fārs, Long 88 30, Lat 30—Persepolis

Yezd in Fārs, Long 89 Lat 32

Hisn-Ibn Umārah in Fārs, Long 94, Lat 30 20—According to Abulf doubtful whether in Fārs, or Kirmān, now in ruins The route from Sirāf, along the sea coast is across wild mountains and deserts [P 36]

Darābjird in Fārs, Long 90, Lat 28 15—This name is derived from *Darāb* = Darius and *Jird* arabicised form of Persian *Gird*, circuit, enclosure, town Darāb is the name of the town in K J

Bāfd, Kirman, Long 82, Lat 29—Marked in K J lead mines in its vicinity

Sirjān, Kirmān, Long 90 30, Lat 29 20—Ibn Haukal calls it the largest city of Kirman

Kirmān, Long 91 30, Lat 30 5

Tabas Kilaki, Khurāsān, Long 92, Lat 33—A town in the desert between Naisābur, Isfahān and Kirmān It is divided in two, one being called T Kilaki and the other T Masinān, but they form properly but one town A celebrated silk of this name is exported Abulf

Zarand of Kirmān Long 92, Lat 30 40—According to Ibn Haukal, it exports a stuff for linings known as *Bilānah*, equiv Pers *astar*

Bardsir, of Kirmān, Long 92 30, Lat 30—In Abulf Bardasir, Bardashir Kawāshir, between Sirjān and the desert, two marches from Sirjān, the name a contraction, it is said, of Ardeshir (Babegān) sec *Dict de la Pers* 90

Khabis of Kirmān, Long 93, Lat 30—Marked in K J

Bam, Long 94 8, Lat 28 30—One of the principal towns and has three large mosques Marked in K J

Tabas Masinān, Khurāsān, Long 92, Lat 33 —See above under Tabas Kilaki.

Khuwāsh, desert of Sistān, Long 94 40, Lat 33 —Pronounced by the inhabitants *Khāsh* A town in Sijistān on the left of a traveller going towards Tustar (Bost?) at one day's march from Sijistān, watered by stream and canals and well wooded with palm trees Yāqut This direction is obscure and the town is not in the maps The Sijistān, above-mentioned must be Zaranj

Zaranj, ancient town of Sistān, Long 97, Lat 32 30 —Capital of Sijistān and called also by its name Yāqub-b-Leith as Saffār, founder of the Saffāride dynasty had a castle here Rām Shahristān on the Helmand, was the capital before Zaranj, but the river having changed its course and abandoned the town the inhabitants left it and built Zarang at a distance of 3 farsakh See these names in the *Dict dela Pers* or in Yāqut

Kij, of Mekrān, Long 99, Lat 23 30 —Principal town of Mekrān and 5 days' march from Tiz, its chief port *Dict dela Pers*

Jāliq, of Mekrān, Long 99, Lat 30 —An error probably for *Jāliqān*, but the latter is placed by Yāqut in Sijistān, and by some authorities in the territory of Bast There is no Jāliq traceable

Khāltān Mekrān, Long 99, Lat 28 30 —Not traceable

Ram, Long 99, Lat 33 35 —This name so occurs in Abulf and corrected by Reinaud to Zamm The latter is placed by Ibn Haukal on the borders of Khurāsān, but reckoned as belonging to Māwarannahar Yāqut makes it a small town on the road to the Oxus leading from Tirmaz and Amol De Slane makes Zemm to mean a cluster of Kurd villages Ibn Khaldun I 133 n

Bust in the Garmsir of Qandahār, on the Helmand, Long 100, Lat 33 —The stages from Sijistān to Bust or Bost are given by Ibn Haukal (Ouseley, p 209)

Takitābād?, Long 101 5?, Lat 33

Rukhkhaj of Sistān, Long 103, Lat 32 50 —In Abulf *Arrukhkhaj* with the Arabic article, the ancient *Arachosia*, comprehending the present provinces N E of Baluchistān, Cutch, Gandāva, Qandahār, Sewistān and the S W of Kābulistān v *Dict Geog* Smith

Sarwin, Sistān, Long 101 55, Lat 28 15 —Abulf and Yakut have
Sarwān It is two marches from Bust

Maimand, originally of Zabulistān, now of Qandahār, Long 102 40, Lat 33 20 —This name is written *Mimand* in Abulf and Yāqut The min of Lat are omitted or misprinted in the text

Ghaznah, Zabulistān, Long 104 20, Lat 33 35

Ribat Amir Long 105, Lat 34 —Not traceable

Qandahār, Long 107 50, Lat 38 20

Nahlwārah India, Long 108 20 Lat 28 30 —See p 59 where this is written as Nahrwalah but with a different location The name was originally Anhilpur (v Vol II) and *Anc Geog India*, p 320

Multān, India, Long 106 25, Lat 29 40

Lahāwar (Lahor), India, Long 109 20, Lat 31 15

Dahli (Delhi), India, Long 114 38, Lat 28 15

Tānesar, India, Long 94 Lat 30

Shāhābād, India, Long 94, Lat 30 12

Sambal, India, Long 105 30 Lat 28 35 —This must be in the Sambalaka of Ptolemy, in Rohilkand See McCrindle *Ptol* p 133

Amroha, India, Long 95 15, Lat 29

Pānipat India, Long 108 10, Lat 28 52

Baran, India, Long 94 15, Lat 28 48 —Vol II Bulandshahar

Bāghpat, Long 94 30, Lat 28 12 —Vol II

Kol, Long 95 2, Lat 28 20 —Aligarh

Himālya Mons, Long 95, Lat 31 50

Kot Kroi —Lat 21 —In Dera Ismail Khan district a pilgrimage centre

Siālkot, India, Long 109 Lat 33

Sultānkot, India, Lat 28 30

Jhelam India, Long 90 35, Lat 33 15

Rhotās, India, Long 90 30, Lat 38 15

Fort of Bandnah, Lat 33 10 —Should be read as *Nandanah*, a fort and a district of the Sind Sagar Doab (Panjab), the fort was north of the junction of two spurs of the Salt Range (J S)

Parashāwar (Peshawar), India, Long 83 40, Lat 38 28

Farmul, India, Lat 32 15 —Kabul being presumably counted in Hindustan See Vol II

Sunnām, India, Long 110 25, Lat 30 30 —Sunam town in Karm garh tahsil of Patiala State

Sirhind, India, Long 111 33, Lat 30 30 —So spelt in every MS

Rupar, India, Long 93 40, Lat 31 —See Vol II Subah of Lahor for this and following name

Māchhiwārah, India

Pāel, India, Long 98 5, Lat 30 15 —v Vol II

Ludhiānah, India, Long 98, Lat 30 55

Sultanpur, India, Long 94 25, Lat 32

Kalānur, where the accession of His Majesty took place, *Akbarnamah*, tr ii 5 *sq*

Desuhah, India, —v Vol II

Parsaror near Dera Ghazi Khan, Long 87 Lat 30 —Pasrur, in Sialkot district

Amnābād, India Long 91 15 Lat 32 —In the Sarkar of the Rechnau Doab

Sudharah, India, Vol II

Defhnah ?, India, —Var *Dalfiah*, *Difhah*

Bherab, India, —Bhera, town in Shahpur dist , Panjab

Khushāb India, Long 84 20, Lat 33 20

Hazārah

Chandniwat

Atak, Benares, founded by His Majesty

Hardwār, Manglāur and the fort of Galer ? ancient cities, Vol II

Charthāwal, Long 94, Lat 29 15 —Vol II

Kairānah, Long 94 30, Lat 29 15 —Vol II

Jhinjhānah, Long 94 30, Lat 29 15 —Vol II

Baghrah, near Muzaffarnagar Long 85 30, Lat 29 30 —Spelt *Baghra* in Vol II

Chahat, near Muzaffarnagar Long 90, Lat 32 —[North of Ambala City]

Bangash, near Muzaffarnagar, Long 87 5, Lat 38 15 —I find no other name, but the Tuman of Bangash which is scarcely applicable here

Dorālah, in Muzaffarnagar, —Vol II

Nahtaur, near Muzaffarnagar, Vol Do , 291

Kaithal, near Muzaffarnagar Long 93 50, Lat 29 59

Rohtak, near Muzaffarnagar, Long 98 50, Lat 29 —Do 287

Jhajhar, Long 94, Lat 28 15 —Vol II, p 286

Māhim, Long 93 20, Lat 28 50 —Do 243

Haibatpur Pati, in the Panjab, Long 92, Lat 31 20

Khizrābād, in the Panjab, Long 94 15 Lat 30 20 —The text is in error in the degree of Long

Sadhurāh, in the Panjab, Long 94 20, Lat 30 25 —Do, Do

Safidan, Do, Long 98 15, Lat 29 25 —In Vol II it is written *Safidun*

Jind, Do, Long 93 25, Lat 29 15

Karnāl, Do, Long 95 4, Lat 29 15

Hānsi Hisār, Do, Long 112 15, Lat 12 45 —Do, pp 294-295

Sahāranpur, Do, Long 94 15, Lat 30

Deoband, Do, Long 94 47 Lat 29 15

Ambālah, Do, Long 98 55, Lat 29 25

Bhumah, Do, —Do 291, where it is written Bhunah

Hatnāwar, Do, —Do 104

Sampat, Long 89 55, Lat 29 —I do not find this name Here the reference to India ceases

Sanjar? —Var Janhah The only approach to this name in Abulf is the ancient Sangarius, the present Sakaria, which flows into the Black Sea, E of Constantinople, called also the river of Angora from its passing near that town Long 54, Lat 41 in the *Resm-ul-Māmur* *Abulf* II 64

Aghmāt, extreme W of Mauritania, Long 11 30, Lat 28 50 N of the Daren Mts and the capital of the country before Morocco and S E of it Abulf II I 188 [South of Marrākush *Ency Islam*, i 182 J S]

Hadiyān? —Var Tadela already mentioned

R'ah —Var Ruqah var Darah mentioned elsewhere

Riyāsah?

Maufālut, Upper Egypt, Long 62 20, Lat 27 40 —On the Nile a little N of Usyut

Fustāt, Do, Long 63, Lat 30 10

Abu Tij, Do, Long 62 30, Lat 28 —On the west bank of the Nile in the Usyut territory, abounding in the poppy plant, 24 miles from Usyut and Ikhmim (Abulf) Reinaud considered the name pronounced by the Arabs *Abu Tig*, to be probably a corruption of *Apotheke*, pointing to a Greek origin

Ushmunain, Do, Long 62 45, Lat 28—The 4 in min of Lat omitted in text, marked Eshmoom in K J It is in the dual form of an Arabic noun, meaning the two Ushmuns, so named, Reinaud supposes, from its greater importance, there being other towns similarly designated It was the ancient Hermopolis Magna and there are still some striking remains of its former magnificence The principal deities worshipped were Typhon and Thoth The former represented by a hippopotamus on which sat a hawk fighting with a serpent Thoth, the Greek Hermes, the Ibis-headed god, was with his accompanying emblem the Ibis and Cynocephalus or ape, the most conspicuous among the sculptures on the great portico of the temple This portico was a work of Pharaonic times v *Geog Dict* Smith [P 38]

Munyah, Do, Long 63, Lat 28 45—Min of Lat in the text 5 for 45, called also Munyat-ul-Khusaib, but in K J as Miniet Ibn Khaseeb Yāqut however carefully points its orthography

Qābis, Africa, Long 42 40, Lat 32—Cabes in the Gulf of that name A town in S Tunisia, under *Gabes* in *Ency Islam*, ii 124 In Ptolemy *Gakape*, in the Regio Syrtica In its neighbourhood were warm mineral springs the *Aquæ Tacapitanæ*, now El Hammat el Khabs v *Geog Dict* Smith

Susah, coast of Africa, Long 44 10, Lat 32 40—N of Monaster, and direct S of Tunis It was from here that the Moslem fleet set sail for the expedition against Sicily Abulf II 199 *Ency Islam*, iv 568 under *al-Sus*

Safāqus, Do, Long 45 30 Lat 31 50—Rein II 200 *Ency Islam*, iv 238 under *Sfax*

Ghadāmis, in the Jarid country, Long 49 10, Lat 29 10—Or Ghudāmis, on the borders of the Tripoli and Algerian territory to the extreme south Yāqut describes the process of tanning here as incomparable, skins becoming as soft as silk The *Beled el Jarid* in K J is marked considerably above Ghudāmis, W of the Shott Kabir

Nābulus, of Jordan, Long 67 30, Lat 32 10—Nābulus in Samaria, the ancient Neapolis, supposed to be identical with Sichem of the Old Testament Traditions of Jacob's well and Joseph's tomb still survive, and its connection with the adjacent sacred Mount of Gerizim and identification as the city

of Samaria where Philip preached, distinguish its remarkable history See Smith's *Geog Dict*

Salt, of Jordan, Long 63 10, Lat 32 3 —Text has Long 68 for 63 *Es Salt* or Ramoth Gilead, but in the *Geog Dict* the site is said to be uncertain Eusebius describes it as 15 miles W of Philadelphia *Ibid*

Azr'aāt, (the two 'Azrās) of Damascus —The name is incorrectly spelt and should be *'Azrā* There are two villages of the name in the Ghutah of Damascus, both marked in K J

Sarkhad, Do , Long 70 20, Lat 32 15 —A fortified town and tract near the Hauran country according to Yāqut In K J Sulkhad or Salcah

Hal? —A note in the text considers this an error for *Hillah* already mentioned

Qādisiyyah, in Iraq, Long 79 25, Lat 21 45 —Cadesia with Hirāh and Khawarnak, says Abulf , are all three on the borders of the desert on the W and Irāq on the E This famous field determined the fate of Persia under the Caliphate of Omar

Sarsar, Do Long 79 55 Lat 33 20 —Between Baghdad and Kufah and at 3 parasangs from Baghdad There are two, an Upper and a Lower Abulf II II 75

Hirah Do , Long 79 27, Lat 31 30 —The text has Khirah for Hirah *The misprints or errors in Lat and Long , the degrees and minutes of which are expressed in the notation of Arabic letters, are too frequent for further notice* Hirah is one parasang from Kufah *Ency Islam*, ii 314

Basā of Fās, Long 89 15, Lat 29 —Known in earlier times as *Basā-sir*, a town in Fārs, 4 days journey S E of Shirāz, was the most important town in the district of Darābjird (*Ency Islam*, ii 80) J S

Dārā —In Abulf this is in the 4th Climate, a small town at the foot of Mt Maridin in Mesopotamia There is another of the name in the mountains of Tabaristān Abulf

Ghaznah —This has already been mentioned

Tib, in Khuzistān, Long 83, Lat 32 —Between Wasit and Ahwāz Abulf

Qurqub in Ahwāz, said by some to be in Irāq, Long 84 43, Lat 33 —Seven parasangs between Qurqub and Tib and ten between it and Sus Abulf.

Jubbı, Khuzıstān, Long 84 35, Lat 30 50 —Jobba ın Abulf and Jubbah ın Yāqut There are several of thıs name gıven by Yāqut, a cluster of vıllages between Damascus and Ba'albak a vıllage ın Nahrwān, a vıllage ın the Khurāsān dıst and also a place ın Egypt the bırth-place or home of the grammarıan Sıbawaıh Jubbı ıs the relatıve adjectıve and not the name

Khansā, Chına, Long 174 45, Lat 29 30 —Thıs ın Abulf ıs *Khānkou* or properly *Khānfou*, a port of Chına on the rıver According to Guyard, Khansa ıs Hang-tcheon-fou, the Kınsay of Marco Polo II II 122 vısıted by Ibn Batutah II 284

Salā, Maurıtanıa, Long 14 10, Lat 33 30 —Now *Salee* or Sla, ın K J on the W coast

Samaıram near Isfahan, —In Yāqut *Sumaıram*, a town half-way between Isfahan and Shırāz

Bam, —Already preceded (*Ency Islam*, ı 640, ın the province of Kırmān)

Balnān? —Baılamān (*Ency Islam*, ı 594), not traced

Balzam, —The text suggests Palermo, whıch seems plausıble as the sımple omıssıon of the dot over the *r* would effect the change, but the name ıs ın strange company, and Abulfeda places ıt ın the 4th Clımate

Baızā Fārs Long 83 15, Lat 30 —Accordıng to Yaqut a well known cıty called *Dar Safed*, the whıte cıty, Arabıcısed ınto Baıza, the whıte, on account of ıts cıtadel whıch was seen at a long dıstance, Istakhrı descrıbes ıt, as the largest town of the dıstrıct of Istakhar and called the Whıte Its Persıan name was Nasāık, ıt was nearly as large as Istakhar and was 8 farsakhs from Shırāz

Jausen or Jusaın?

Kınah?

Jor, ın Fārs, —*Ency Islam*, ıı 113 (under *Fıruzābād*) Long 78 30, Lat 31 accordıng to Yāqut who places ıt at 20 farsakh from Shırāz, pronounced by the Persıans *Gur* It ıs saıd that Malık Azdu-d Daulah bın Buwaıh used to make frequent excursıons of pleasure to ıt and the people used to say that he had gone to *Gor*, *ı e*, the grave The omınous sound ınduced hım to change the name to Fırozābād The orıgınal cıty ıs ascrıbed to Ardeshır-b -Bābak, who gave ıt the name of Ardeshır Khurrah

Damındān, ın Kırmān, —The name of a large town in Kırmān with mines of ıron, copper, gold, sılver, and ammonıac and tutty ın a mountaın ın the vıcınıty This mountaın ıs called Dumbāwand, lofty and volcanıc It contaıns a huge cave ın whıch ıs heard the sound of rushıng waters When the vapourous smoke ıs thıck around ıts sides, the people of the town assemble to obtaın the sal ammonıac whıch ıs deposıted, of whıch 1/5 ıs taken by the Sultan and the rest dıvıded amongst the people pro rata Yāqut from Ibn u l Fakıh Thıs must not be confounded wıth the mountaın of Dumbāwand on the frontıers of Rayy of whıch marvellous legends are recorded by Yāqut

Sabqah, —I do not trace thıs name (? *Saqqız* ın Kurdıstan, *Ency Islam*, ıv 82, J S)

S'alabah,

'Aın-ush-Shamıs, Egypt, —Long ın Abulf varyıng accordıng to dıfferent authors between 53 30 and 61 50 and Lat between 29 30 and 30 20, saıd to be the resıdence of Pharoah, of whıch some ruıns stıll remaın, among them the *needle of Pharoah, at half a day s journey from Caıro* Abulf II 167 Thıs ıs the famous Helıopolıs, wıth the semıtıc names of *Beth Shemesh* and *On* (*Genesıs*, xlı 45 Ezech xxx 17)

'Aın Jārah, —Saıd by Yāqut to have been a small vıllage near Aleppo wıth whıch a gross legend ıs connected, but the posıtıon ıs obscure

Kadwāl ?

Kafartāb —Atwal, Long 61 30 Lat 34 45, placed by Abulf ın the 4th Clımate Yāqut locates ıt ın the desert between Aleppo and Marrah, there are no wells and ıt ıs dependent on raın water

Kafartuthā, —Atwal, Long 66 35, Lat 37, ın the 4th Clımate ın the Dıyār Rabıah Yāqut places ıt at 5 farsakh from Dārā ın Mesopotamıa Also the name of a vıllage ın Palestıne

Najdah ?

Kawārah ?

Marbut, —Mentıoned by Yāqut as one of the vıllages of Alexandrıa wıthout further partıculars

Daha ? —The text suggests Dahna

Daskarah, in 'Irāq, Long 81 3°, Lat 38 40′ —In the environs of Baghdad or according to another account, a large village in its dependency on the road to Khurāsān and called *Darkarat-ul-Malik*, contains marvellous ancient ruins Abulf Yāqut gives two of the name, one a large village W of Baghdad, and another on the road to Khurāsān near Shahrābād and called Darkarut-ul-Malik, on account of the frequent residence there of Harmuz son of Sapor, son of Ardeshir, son of Bābek Two others are also mentioned by Yāqut one, opposite Jabbul, between Nuamaniyah and Wāsit, and a fourth in Khuzistān

Manf, Egypt, Long 63 20°, Lat 30 20′ —Memphis The text has Minf Yāqut points the word *Manf*, which is doubtless correct, the *Noph* of the Old Testament Its antiquity is unquestionable, but Yāqut s authority, an undistinguished Abdur-Rahman, makes it the first city peopled after the Flood Its first settlers were Baisar, son of Ham, son of Noah, with his family 30 in number, and their colony called *Māfah* from a Coptic word signifying 30, and turned by the Arabs into *Manf*

Murjān ?

Nāsarah, Palestine, , —Nazareth

Maghrārah or Maghrawah,

The Fourth Climate

Tanjah, a dependency of Fez, on the Atlantic, Long 18°, Lat 35′ —Tangier

Q'asr i 'Abdul Karim, Mauritania, Long 18 30°, Lat 37 40′ —A town 4 marches from Ceuta, N W of Miknessa, built on the river Luccos The chief town of the province was formerly Al Basra, but on its destruction the castle of 'Abdul Karim took the rank of the capital and was known as the castle of Ketāma Abulf Reinaud observes in a note that Abdul Karim is a branch of the Berber tribe of Ketāma and this castle was also surnamed *Al Qasr al Kabir* This name is retained in K Johnston, as applying to the modern town of Luxor

Qurtubah, capital of Andalusia, Long 18 30, Lat 35 —Cordova

Ishbiliyyah, Andalusia, Long 18 15, Lat 36·50 —Sevile

Sabtah, Mauritania, Long 19 15, Lat 35 30 —Ceuta, anciently Lepta The deg and min of Long are inaccurate in the text and seem generally to have been entered without discrimination or care and impossible localities assigned

Jazirat al Khadrā (the Green Isle) Andalusia, Long 19 15, Lat 35 50 —Algeciras The epithet of the 'isle' was given to it, says Ibn Sayd, from an island in the vicinity It is now joined to the continent The epithet of the island" is also given to Mesopotamia and the difference by which the relative adjectives of these localities is distinguished is, that the former is *Aljaziri*, the latter *Aljazari* Abulf II 347

Mārida, Spain, Long 28 15, Lat 38 15 —Merida, the ancient Augusta Emerita, built by Publius Carisius, legate of Augustus, in B C 23, who colonised it with the veterans of the 5th and 10th legions whose term of service had expired (*emriti*) at the close of the Cantabrian War It became the capital of Lusitania and one of the greatest cities in Spain *Geog Dict*

Tulaitulah, Do , Long 10 40, Lat 35 30 —Toledo, the ancient Toletum, (Ptolemy) according to an old Spanish tradition it was founded in 540 B C by Jewish colonists who named it *Toledoch, i e* , mother of people, *Geog Dict*

Gharnātah, Do , Long 21 40, Lat 37 30 —Granada

Jayyān, Do , Long 21 40, Lat 38 50 —Jaen

Almariyyah, Do , Long 24 40, Lat 35 50 —Almeria

Medinatu l Farj, Do , Long 25, Lat 36 40 —Now Guadalajara, *Wāda-l-Hajārah,* the river of stones, *Amnns lapidum* of Rodericus Toletanus Gayangos *Mahom Dyn in Spain,* I 319 The name in the text signifies the 'city of the opening or gap' which Reinaud supposes to convey the meaning of frontier city This meaning of *farj* is borne out by Belazuri v Gildemeister *De Reb Indicis*, p 37

Mālaqah, Do , Long 26 Lat 37 30 —Malaga, the ancient Malaca

Mān'ah, *var* Maltah, —Gladwin has here *Malta,* with the degrees of Long and Lat which are absent from the text , perhaps a misscript for *Minorca*

Island of Yābisah, Mediterranean, Long 36 62, Lat 38 30 —Iviza, anciently Ebusas

Island of Mayurqah, Mediterranean, Long 34 7, Lat 38 30 —Majorca, Balearis Major

Bunah, Africa, Long 28, Lat 28 50—The modern Bona on the coast of Constantine province in the vicinity of the ancient Hippo Regius

Island of Sardāniyah, Africa, Mediterranean, Long 41, Lat 88

Capital of the Island of Sicily Long 45, Lat 38 10—Palermo

Balraghdāmis, Mediterranean, Long 49 10, Lat 39 10—Barghadema is the nearest approach to the name in Abulf but the Lat is 57 and Reinaud considers the country between the Oder and Dnieper to be meant, but the text mentions it in the Mediterranean

Island of Shāmus, Mediterranean, Long 52 40, Lat 38 10—Samos

Island of Ikritish Do, Long 55, Lat 36 40—Crete

Island of Qubrus, Do, Long 62 15, Lat 34—Cyprus

Island of Rudis, Do, Long 61 40, Lat 36—Rhodes, mentioned elsewhere

Island of Hamaniyā, Do, Long 64 15, Lat 38 35—I suspect this to be Morea, in Abulf *Lamoreya,* but the location does not correspond as to Lat and Long

Island of Saqliyah, Do, Long 65, Lat 36—Sicily Thus in the text but according to Yāqut, the orthography is Siqilliyyah

Atheniyah the city of philosophers, Greece, Long 63 40, Lat 57 20—Athens

Jarun, Long 66 30, Lat 30 35—An old castle in ruins opposite Constantinople Reinaud gives its Long 50 and Lat 45 and writes the name *Aljeroun,* suggesting a better reading, *Aljedoun,* II 39 Guyard doubts whether the Arabic article before Jarun is admissible (II II 142) and his objection is well founded

Tarsus, Long 68 40, Lat 35 50

Bayrut, Asia Minor, Long 69 30, Lat 34

Ayās, Armenia, Long 69, Lat 36 40—In the Gulf of Iskanderun

Azanah, Do, Long 69, Lat 36 50

Masisah, Do, Long 69 15, Lat 36 45—The ancient Mopsuestia

Bars Birt, Do, Long 69 23, Lat 37—One march N of Sis between little Armenia and Carmania A strong citadel on a hill commanding the country

Atrabolos Syria, Long 69 40, Lat 34—Tripoli

Baghrās, Do, Long 70, Lat 35 43—The ancient Pagræ near the Syrian gates on the Syrian side of the Pass Through these gates, the *Assirion pylai* of Arrian, Alexander passed and

recrossed turning back to meet Darius at Issus Arr I, VI. VIII

Bāb Sikandarunah, Do, Long 70, Lat 36 10—Alexandretta or Iskanderun

Lādhakiyyah, Do, Long 70 40, Lat 35 15—Latākia

Hims, Do, Long 70 15, Lat 34 20—Hems

Shughr Bakās, Do, Long 71, Lat 35 30—Two strong fortresses within a bow shot of each other, half way between Antioch and Fāmyah The former name occurs in K J supposed to have been Seleucia ad Belum

Suwāidiyyah, Do, Long 71, Lat 36—The ancient Seleucia

Malitiyyah, Do, Long 71, Lat 37—Properly Malatyah, according to Yāqut, and is in Asia Minor not Syria proper

Shaizar, Long 71 10, Lat 34 50—A corruption of *Kaisāreia* or Cæsarea Phillipi In his remarks on Hāmāth, Shaizar is said by Abulf to be remarkable for the number of its norias

Antākiah, on the Roman frontier, Long 71 26, Lat 35 40—Antioch

Sarmin, dependency of Aleppo, Long 71 50, Lat 35 50—One march south of Aleppo between it and Ma'arrah

Qinnasrin, Long 72 Lat 35 30

Halab, one of the chief cities of Syria, Long 72 10 Lat 35 8—Aleppo

Sumaisāt, Syria, Long 72 15, Lat 37 30—Anciently Samosata

Hisn Mansur, Do, Long 72 25, Lat 37—Near Sumaisāt, named from Mansur-b-J aunah-b al Hārith al 'Āāmiri, to whom was intrusted its construction under Marwān, the Ass

Saruj, Long 72 40, Lat 36 3—In Mesopotamia, now in ruins, in the environs of Harrān it is marked in K J

Mambij, Long 72 50, Lat 36 30—Hierapolis, a name given by Seleucus Nicator in substitution of Bambyke, as it was called by the natives, being the chief seat of the worship of the Syrian goddess Astarte It is the *Mabog* of Pliny See its history in Smith's *Geog Dict.*

Raqqah, Diyār Muzar, Long 73, Lat 36—After the great inundation of Arim, famous in Arabian history, which is assigned to a period shortly after the death of Alexander the Great, eight tribes were forced to abandon their homes, from some of which arose the kingdoms of Ghassān and Hira About this time also occurred the migration of colonies led into Mesopotamia by Bakr, Muzhar and Rabi'ah, the eponymous

chiefs of the three provinces still named after them Diyār Bakr, Diyār Muzhar and Diyār Rabi'ah See Sale Prel Dis 7

Harrān, Long 73, Lat 37 40 —Anciently Carrhæ, the Haran or Charran of *Genesis*, xi 31 xxiv 10 v *Geog Dict*

Qāliqalā, Armenia, Long 73 45, Lat 38

Mārdin, Diyār Rabi'ah, Long 74, Lat 37 50

Mayyā Fāriqin Diyār Bakr, Long 74 15, Lat 38 —The capital of Diyār Bakr Here is the tomb of Saifu'ddaulah b -Hamdān

Hattākh, Do , Long 74 30, Lat 37 45 —Close to Mayyā Fāriqin Yāqut

Qarqisiyā, Do , Mudhar, Long 74 40, Lat 36 —The ancient Circesium, situated on the Euphrates and Khābur, near Raqqah Marked in K J

Jazirah, Ibn Omar, Mesopotamia, Long 75 30, Lat 37 30 —Marked in K J

Nasibin, Diyār Rabi ah, Long 75 20, Lat 37 40 —The capital of Diyār Rabi ah Its roses have the peculiarity of being white, no red roses are found there Ibn Batutah quotes Abu Nawas in praise of it Vol II 141 *Travels*

Makisin, Mesopotamia, Long 75 32, Lat 35 —On the Khābur, 7 parasangs from Qarqisiyah and 22 to Sinjar Abulf

Sinjār, Diyar Rabi'ah, Long 76, Lat 36

Ma'arrat-un-Nu'amān, Syria, Long 71 44, Lat 35 —The name is from Nu amān-b-Bashir a companion of Muhammad, who died while his father was Governor of Emesa and was here buried It had been previously named Dhāt-ul-Qusur, 'possessing palaces'', and it is also said that Nu amān is the name of a mountain overlooking it Ibn Batutah, I 144

Irbil, a large city with a strong fortress, a dependency of Mausil, Long 69 30, Lat 30 8 —Arbila now Erbil, Yāqut gives the Long 69 30, Lat 35 30, describes it as a large city with a strong fortress two days' march from Mausil of which it is a dependency This name must be pronounced Irbil and not Arbil which he says is not admissible (*Ency Islam*, ii 521-)

Aānah, Mesopotamia, Long 76 30, Lat 34

Madinah i Balad, Diyār Rabi'ah, Long 76 40, Lat 37 30 —A small town on the W of the Tigris, 6 parasangs from Mausil, Abulf It is commonly written *Balad*, simply

Mausil, Mesopotamia Long 76, Lat 36 50 —Mosal in the maps

Arjish, Armenia, Long 76, Lat 38 30 —A fortress situated on the N of the Lake of Van, identified with the ancient Arsene

Hadithah, on the Euphrates, Long 77 20, Lat 38 35 —There are two of the name (meaning New town), one in Mesopotamia below 'Aānah and another Mausil The former is here meant (It is marked in K J) The latter follows

Amid, Diyār Bakr, Long 77 20, Lat 36 12 —The present town of Diyār Bakr

Hadithah, on the Tigris Long 77 20, Lat 86 15

Naushahr, Irāq, Long 71 30, Lat 36 35 —This is a Persian name, synonymous with *Hadithah* (Villeneuve), but I do not trace it in Abulf or Yāqut

Tikrit, Mesopotamia, Long 71 25, Lat 34 30

Sāmarra, 'Irāq, Long 79, Lat 84 —Originally *Surraman rān, viz*, "rejoiceth him that seeth it," built by the Caliph Al Mu'atasim-billāhi in 218 A H (A D 833) See Jarrett's *Hist of the Caliphs* (Siyuti) 330, for its origin

Salmās, Azarbijān, Long 72, Lat 37 40 —Situated on the extreme West of Azarbijān at 7 parasangs from Khowayy Abulf

Khowayy, Azarbijān, Long 79 42 Lat 37 40 —12 parasangs N W of Marand 21 miles from Salmās

Urmiyyah, Do , Long 29 45, Lat 37 —Or Urmiyah, on the borders of the lake of the same name

Irbil capital of Shahrazur, Long 78 Lat 39 20 —*Ency Islam*, ii 521-523 (the name of many places in Mesopotamia) The district or hill country called by the geographers Jabal, is part of Persian 'Irāq, and according to Ibn Haukal is its distinguishing feature The inhabitants are all Kurds Shahrazur according to Yāqut is a large town in the mountains between Irbil and Hamadān the chief of a cluster of towns and villages comprised under the same name (See also Ibn Khaldun, De Slane I 145)

Marand, Azarbijān, Long 80 43, Lat 37 50 —N E of Tabriz, the ancient Maranda

Shahrazur, one of the towns of the Jabal, Long 80 20, Lat 35 30 —The town was named after Zur-b -Zohāk who founded it Yāqut

Ardabil, Azarbijān, Long 80 30, Lat 38 —Yāqut visited it in A H 617 (A D 1220) and remarks the extraordinary fact,

that notwithstanding its good air and many streams, not a fruit tree was to be seen in or near it in the plain on which it stands Fruit has to be brought from a day's journey the other side of the hills and no fruit tree will thrive there According to the *Qanun* the Long is 73 50, and the Atwal 72 30 and both make the Lat 38

Aujān, Azarbijān, Long 81-30, Lat 37 20 —A small town of little importance, and little noticed by Abulf In the *Dict de la Perse* it is said to have received from Ghazān Khan the name of the City of Islam"

Nakhchuwān in Arran, Long 81 45, Lat 37 49 —Anciently Naxuana on the N bank of Araxes In Armenian tradition, it is connected with the first habitation of Noah and his landing from the ark *Geog Dict*

Kasr-Shirin, Azarbijan Long 81 50, Lat 36 40 —Near Qirmisin, between Hamadan and Hulwān on the Baghdad road It was named after the beautiful Shirin wife or mistress of Khusrau Parwiz The legend of its building is told by Yakut who says that this monarch was famed for three incomparable treasures his horse Shabdiz, his mistress Shirin and his minstrel Balahbaz

Saimarah, in the Jabal district, Long 81 50, Lat 34 40 —See under Shahrazur for Jabal

Maraghah, Azarbijān, Long 82, Lat 37 20 —The old capital of Adharbāijān, (*Ency Islam*, iii 261-) The name of this town was originally *Afrāz Haroz* The army of Marwān, Governor of Armenia and Azarbijān under Hishām the Umayyad Caliph here encamped in one of his expeditions The stable litter of the cavalry and beasts of burden covered the plain and the animals constantly rolling themselves about in it (*tamarrugh*), it received the name of the 'village of Marāghah ' and subsequently Marāghah only), (Yāqut)

Tabriz, Azarbijān, Long 82, Lat 37 —Tauris, the seat of the royal residence of the Tartar dynasty of Hulagu till its transfer to Sultāniyyah, the new capital founded by Khudābandah Abulf See its history in D'Herbelot

Ardabil, Azarbijān, Long 82 25, Lat 37 20 —A note to the text says that this name occurs twice in every MS and that here Dabil in Armenia is probably meant Abulfeda gives the

Long 72 40, Lat 38 (*Qānun*) and Long 70 20, Lat 37 25 (Atwal) and calls it the capital of Interior Armenia

Mayānah, Azarbijān, Long 82 30, Lat 37 —Two days march from Marāghah, in K J Miana

Kirmisin, or Kirmān Shāh in the Jabal dist, Long 83, Lat 34 30 — Kermānshāh in K J

Dainawar, Do, Long 83, Lat 35 —*Ency Islam*, i 976 "In the middle ages one of the most important towns of Jibāl (Media) now in ruins" Correct spelling *Dinawar* N W of Hamadān, near Kirmisin

Hamadān, Māh-ul-Basrah, Long 83, Lat 36 —*Ency Islam*, ii 241 under *Hamadhān* Hamadān (or dān) with its districts formed what was called the Māh of Basrah, as Dinawar and its dist formed the Māh of Kufah The word *Māh* is derived from the same name as *Media* (Māda) according to Lagarde and Olshausen (Guyard II II p 163, n) and employed by geographers in the sense of province Hamadān with Nahāwand and Qumm forms the Māh-ul-Basrah

Zanjān, Jabal dist, Long 83, Lat 36 30 —The most northern of the Jabal villages, on the borders of the Azarbijān

Muqān, borders of Arrān, Long 83, Lat 38 —Two marches distant from Derbend according to Ibn Haukal but Abulfeda states that the town exists no longer and the name is applied to a tract of country bordering the Caspian, visited as winter quarters by Tartar hordes

Sohraward, Jabal dist, Long 83 20, Lat 36 —Near Zanjān a little town inhabited by Kurds, Abulf

Nuhāwand, Māhul-Basrah, Jabal dist, Long 83 15, Lat 34 20 — *Ency Islam*, iii 911 under *Nihhāwand*, a town in the old province of Hamadhān on the road from Kirmānsāh [to Isfahān] [J S]

Bimānshahr, of Hamadan, Long 84 30, Lat 37 30 —A mere village Abulf *Ency Islam*, ii 170 mentions a Bimashahr (not *Bimanshahr*) among the former most important places of Gilan

Burujird, Do, Long 84 30, Lat 36 20 —18 parasangs from Hamadān in the Jabal dist, produces saffron Abulf

Abhar Jabal dist, Long 84 30 Lat 36 55 —The text has incorrectly *Ubhar* Yaqut correctly places it between Qazwin and Zanjān and Hamadān, the last forming the apex of the

triangle of which the base is Qazwin and Zanjān, almost equally bisected by Abhar *Ency Islam*, i 69

Kutam, Gilān, Long 84 40, Lat 37 20 —At one day's march from the sea, said to have been a considerable town, but it is not marked in the map *Ency. Islam*, ii 170 mentions it [P 41]

Karaj, Jabal dist, Long 74 45, Lat 34 —It is a town half way between Hamadān and Isfahān—called also *Karaj-i-Abi Dulaf*, having been founded by this general of the Caliph Al Mamun Abulf Yāqut

Sāwah, Do, Long 85, Lat 36 15 —Situate W of Rayy, and S of Tālaqān and 12 parasangs from Qumn

Qazwin, Do, Long 85 Lat 36 30

Sultāniyyah, Do, Long 85, Lat 36 30 —In Azarbijān Its ruins are marked on K J It is immediately south of Zanjān, a town founded by Khudābandah son of Arghun, 12th of the Ilkhān dynasty *Ency. Islam*, iv 548

Abah or Awah, Jabal Dist, Long 85 10, Lat 34 40 —In K J Avah at the foot of the Karaghan Mts, 27 parasangs north-east of Hamadān

Qumn, Do, Long 84 40, Lat 34 45 —Kum in K J directly S of Teherān The inhabitants are all Shiahs and Yāqut amusingly describes the attempt of a Sunni Governor to find any one named Abu Bakr in the whole town A wretched tatterdemalion was at length produced after a long search as the only specimen the climate could grow of that name *Ency Islam*, ii 1117

Jarbādqan, Do, Long 85 35, Lat 34 —Between Karaj and Hamadān There is another of the name between Astarābād and Jurjān

Kāshān, Do, Long 86 12, Lat 36 —A smaller town than Qumn and in its vicinity Its houses mostly constructed of mud and their inhabitants Shiahs Abulf *Ency. Islam*, ii 786

Natanz, Do, Long 86 30, Lat 38 13 —A small town 20 parasangs from Isfahan Abulf

Dumbāwand, Do, Long 86 20, Lat 35 35 —Demavend in K J It marks the frontier of Rayy *Ency Islam*, i 937, under *Demawend*

Rayy, Do, Long 86 20, Lat 35 53 —The ancient Rhagæ, in Media *Ency Islam*, iii 1105

Kālār, in Dailam, Long 8 50, Lat 36 35 —With Kālār is coupled in the text a corrupt name, perhaps, a misscript for *Salous* from which it is only a march distant Kālār is a town S E of Lahajān, which is S E of Resht

Khuwār, Jabal dist, Long 87 10, Lat 35 40 —A dependency of Rayy between that town and Simnān

Tālaqān, Long 85 45, Lat 36 30 —Between Qazwin and Abhar, not to be confounded with the Tālaqān of Khurāsān

Hausam, Gilān, Long 85 10, Lat 37 10 —In the Jabal district beyond Tabaristān and Dailam is all the information in Yāqut

Dailamān (Isfahān) —Yāqut describes it as one of the villages of Isfahān in the Jurjān territory

Dasht, Do —A village of the Isfahan district—also a small town in the mountains between Irbil and Tabriz populated by Kurds Yaqut

Lahajān, Gilān, —Atwal Long 74, Lat 36 15 The Safid Rud flows into the sea near Lahijan *Ency Islam*, ii 170

Wimah, town of Dumbawand, —Do 77 20, Lat 36 10 *Qānun*, Long 76 35, Lat 36 20 A small town between Rayy and Tabaristān Abulf

Amul, Tabaristān, —Atwal, Long 77 20, Lat 36 35 Capital of Tabaristān

Dāmaghān, Qumis, —Atwal, Long 78 55, Lat 36 20 The largest of the towns in Qumis territory according to Ibn Hauqal called by Yāqut

Simnān, Capital of Qumis, —Atwal, Long 78, Lat 36 *Qānun* Long 79, Lat 36

Biyār, Mazandarān, —A picturesque town between Baihaq and Bistām, two days' march from the latter *Dict de la Perse*

Sāri, Do, Long 88, Lat 37 —Also written and more commonly *Sāriyah* Its derivation from *Sari* 'Travelling by night' according to Yāqut, but the reason is not evident It lies 3 parasangs from the sea and 18 from Amul

Bistām, Qumis, Long 89 30, Lat 36 10 —A town in Khurāsān, on the slopes of the Alburs mt During the Khalifate it was the second city of the Qumis district (after the capital Damaghān) Famous for its apples and Saints tombs *Ency Islam*, i 733 (J S)

Astarābād, Māzandarān, Long 89 35, Lat 36 50

Jurjān, Capital of its province, Long 90, Lat 36 50 —Its ruins alone are marked in K J *Ency Islam*, i 1065, modern Persian *Gurgān*, the ancient Hyrcania

Furāwah, Khurāsān, Long 90, Lat 39 —On the frontier of Khwārizm , it is called Ribāt Furāwah, a fort constructed by Abdu'llah b Tāhir in the Caliphate of Mamun Abulf

Sabzawār, —Long 91 30 Lat 36 15 The chief town of the canton of Baihaq a position previously held by the town of Khusraujird

Isfarāin or Mihrjān, Khurāsān Long 91 40, Lat 36 55 —In the environs of Naisābur half way to Jurjān The name of Mihrjān is said to have been given to it by Khusrau Kubād, father of Nushirwān, on account of the beauty of its climate and the freshness of its air (Abulf) Abu'l Qasim al Baihaqi according to Yāqut says that the ancient form of the name was Isbarain from *isbar*, a buckler, and *'Ain* custom, on account of the traditional usage of this weapon of defence from the time of Isfandiyār

Abaskun, Māzandarān Long 89 55, Lat 37-10 —The text has Abisgun, situated on the borders of the Caspian , 24 parasangs from Jurjān *Ency Islam*, i 6

Mazinān, frontier of Khurāsān Long 90 35, Lat 36 —On the extreme frontier of Khurāsān bordering on Irāq

Turshiz Long 90 15, Lat 35 —*Ency Islam*, iv 974 The text has turned the Lon into a series of 3 figures and marked the town as unknown A reference to Yāqut would have shown that *Turshish* or Turaithith celebrated for its savants and devotees, is a town and district dependent on Naisābur The Persian orthography of the name is correctly represented in the text, (v *Dict de la Perse*, 390 n) In the *Zinat-ul Majālis*, it is said that in one of its boroughs called Kashmir, is a cypress celebrated for its beauty and height and said to have been planted by Gushtāsp the sage, and alluded to by Firdausi in his *Shāh Nāmah*, (Mohl t IV p 364) It was uprooted by the order, it is said, of the Abbaside Mutawakkil, who was certainly capable of the barbarity

Naishābur, one of the chief cities of Khurasān, Long 92 30, Lat 36 20 —Yāqut writes *Naisabur*—vulg Nashāur

Tus, Khurāsān, Long 92 30, Lat 34 20

Mashhad, it adjoins Nuqān, Long 92 33, Lat 34 29 —*Ency Islam*, III 467 Known as Meshed It stands on the ruins of Nauqān and takes its name from the Mausoleum (*Mashhad*) of Ali, son of Musa-ar-Ridha, and is too well-known for description

Tun, Long 92 30, Lat 34 30 —Town of Kohistān near Qain *Dict de la Perse*

Nuqān, not the Nauqān of Mashhad, Long 92, Lat 38 —This must be the Nuqān in the environs of Naisābur

Qāin, Khurāsān, Long 93 20, Lat 37 30 —The capital of Kohistān *Kayn* in K J

Zuzan, Kohistān, Long 93 30, Lat 35 20 —Between Herat and Naisābur

Buzjān, Khurāsān, Long 94, Lat 36 —A small town 4 marches from Naisābur

Marw, Shāhjahān, Do , Long 94 20, Lat 37 40 —*Ency Islam*, Suppl 146-149, (where *Shāhjahān* is shown as a mistake for *al-Shāhijān*)

Herāt, Khurāsān, Long 94 20, Lat 34 30

Sarakhs Do Long 94 30, Lat 37 8

Bādaghis Do Long 94 30, Lat 34 20 —A dependency of Herāt, the chief town or towns of the canton being Bamun and Baun that adjoin each other

Marw-ar-Rud, known as Murghāb, Long 94, Lat 36 30 —The word signifies a white flint that gives fire, and *rud* is a stream (the *Murghāb*) The town is 4 days march (Abulf) says five) from its more celebrated namesake The relative adjective of this name is *Marwarudi*, and that of the other is *Marwazi*, to distinguish them

Malin, of Herāt, Long 94 30, Lat 34 35 —Name of a cluster of villages at 2 parasangs from Herāt, and called at Herat, Mālān (Yāqut)

Bushang, Long 95 40, Lat 36 3 —Bushanj in Yāqut, a picturesque town, 10 parasangs from Herāt According to the *Dict de la Perse*, the Persian name is *Fushanj* deriving its origin from the son of Afrasiāb *Ency Islam*, I 802 under Bushandj ("or Fushandj"), a town south of the Hari Rud below Herāt, a day's journey from that city

Baghshur, Khurāsān, Long 96 25, Lat 36 —A small town between Herāt and Marw-ar-Rud Yāqut passed by this in A H 616 and it was then nearly in ruins The name of Bagh is also

given to this town and the relative adjective *Baghawi* formed from it, not quite according to grammatical rule Yāqut

Qarinain, Marw Shahjahān, Long 97 25, Lat 36 55 —Situated on the Marw river, formerly called Barkadir, but changed to Qarinain, (dual of *Qarin*, the two neighbours) because it was joined to Marw-ar-Rud from which it is 4 marches distant

Dandānqān, Do Long 97 30, Lat 37 —A small locality two marches from Marw in the Sarakhs direction Its cotton is said to be of excellent quality and it produces silk

Sharmaqān, Long 104, Lat 36 41 —By the Persians called Jarmaqān, a small town in the Isfahān dist four marches from Naisābur, in the Khurāsān hills

Tālaqān, Khurāsān, Long 98, Lat 36 30 —Not to be confounded with the Tālaqān between Qazwin and Abhar in the Jabal dist This one is said by Yāqut to lie between Balkh and Marw-ar-Rud, at three days march from the latter It is not marked in the maps Another Tālaqān is in Badakshān near Qunduz below the spurs of the Hindu Kush

Fāryāb, Long 99, Lat 36 45 —The text omits the tens in the min of Lon but similar errors are almost too numerous to notice Fāryāb is a well-known town of Jarjan, 6 marches from Balkh, 3 from Shubrukān and 3 from Tālaqān Zahir Fāryābi was from this town

Balkh, capital of Khurāsān, Long 101 40, Lat 36 41

Bāmiān, Zābulistān, Long 102, Lat 34 35

Halāward, Long 101 40, Lat 37 30 —A town of Khuttal, a province of Khurāsān in Transoxiana of which the chief towns are this and Lāwakand Khuttal is comprised between the Waksh Badakhshān rivers

Balāsāghun, Long 101 30, Lat 37 40 —This is placed by Abulf in the 7th Climate A frontier town of Turkestan across the Jaxartes, near Kāshghar, (Abulf) in whose times it was in the hands of the Tartars De Guignes, speaks of Malikshāh, son of Alp Arslān, in 1089, as taking Samarqand and passing on to Ouzkend, compelling the king of Kāshghar to read the Khutba and mint the coin in his name and forcing tribute from the princes of Taraz, Balasgoun and Isfijāb

Siminjān, Tukhāristān, Long 102, Lat 36 —A small locality in Tukhāristān wedged in it between Balkh and Baghlān in the defiles, inhabited by a branch of the Bani Tamim It is 2

marches from Balkh to Khulm and 5 on to Anderabah by Siminjān Yāqut

Qubādiān, territory of Balkh, Long 102, Lat 37 45 —A pleasant spot full of orchards, Abulf , the town and district are marked in the survey map, across the Oxus directly N of Khulm

Walwālij, in Tukhāristān, Long 102 20, Lat 36 —The capital of Tukhāristan according to Abulf which was anciently the kingdom of the Ephthalites (Hayatilah), 4 parasangs from Tāikān

Saghānyān, Transoxiana, Long 102 40 Lat 38 50 —Pronounced Jaghānyān in Persian, the name of the town is extended to the country about it, larger than Tirmiz but not so rich or populous Abulf

Taiqān, Tukhāristān, Long 102 50, Lat 37 25 —In the environs of Balkh It is separated by a distance of 7 parasangs from Khuttal Abulf

Anderāb Khurāsān, Long 103 45, Lat 36 —Between Ghaznah and Balkh, the road by which caravans enter Kabul Adjacent is the mountain of Panjhir with its mines of silver

Badakshān, Long 104 40, Lat 37 20

Kābul, Long 104 40 Lat 34 30

Banjhir, Kābulistān, Long 104 40 Lat 34 30 —Properly Panjhir, Yāqut, see Vol II

Lamghān, Do , Long 104 50, Lat 34 3

Karwez, Badakshān Long 105 20, Lat 36 —The text is corrupt and the place unknown Gladwin writes Gardiz, but this Tumān is S of Kābul and S E of Ghazni I would propose *Kunduz* [H S J] I cannot accept Qunduz (*Ency Islam*, ii 1117), a town and district in N Afghanistan, bounded by Badakshān, Tash Kurghān, the Oxus and the Hindu Kush The town is the trade centre of a considerable district which produces the best horses in Afghanistan " The place seems to be *Karzwān*, close to Gharjistān in Afghan Turkestān, as given in A Hamid Lahori's *Pādishāh-nāmah*, ii 622 [J S]

Jirm, Badakshān, Long 104 20, Lat 36 —*Ency Islam*, i 552, "the frontier town of Islam, on the trade route *via* Wakhān to Tibet " (J S)

Kishmar, Long 93 40, Lat 36 15 —I read *saj* for *Sah* of the text for deg of Long and *yh* for min of Lat These alterations which the similarity of the letters and the constant inaccuracies

of the text justify, will bring this town approximately to the location of *Tarshiz* (p 86) of which it is a neighbour (H S J) *Turshiz* in *Ency Islam*, iv 974, the capital of the district of Busht in the province of Nishābur In the vicinity was the village of Kishmar, where according to tradition, Zoroster planted a cypress tree (J S)

Source of the Mihrān (Indus), Long 125 Lat 36

Sarfatain, —From this name to the end, the degrees of Long and Lat do not occur in the principal MSS Many of the names are repetitions of those preceding and very corrupt

Jisr, —A place near Hirah, the scene of a battle between the Persians and the Arabs in A H 13, in which the latter were defeated The word signifies a bridge, which was thrown across the Euphrates by which the Arabs advanced to the attack Yaqut *Ency. Islam*, under *Djisr*

Harrān, —Preceded

Qarādah,

Fārhān,

Malān ?

Abrakhis ?

Audmiyyah ?

Qarmāsin, —Preceded as Qirmisin

Dauraq, —This is mentioned by Abulf as a dependency of Khuzistān, 10 parasangs from Bāsyān and 18 from Arrajān, in the 3rd Climate

Diyār Bakr, —Preceded

Qarinain, —Do

Ninawa, —Nineveh, the lat of this place is the same as Mausil, which it faces on the opposite bank of the Tigris, Lat 36 30, Long 67 Abulf

Palangān ?

Qaisar, Atwal, Long 60, Lat 40 Qaisariyyah in Asia Minor, capital of the Ottoman Sultans, concurrently or alternately with *Iconium* Abulf *Ency Islam*, ii 660-661

Bijāyah, Mauritania, —Placed by Yāqut on the sea-shore on the borders of Africa proper and the Maghrib or N W Africa, three days journey from Milah It is the modern Bougie *Ency Islam*, i 766

Balansia, —Valencia, Long 20, Lat 38 6 Abulf

Sāmus, —Samos preceded, as Shāmus

Ayās, —Do

Irqah, Syrian coast, —*Erek*, Long 60 15, Lat 34, a small town defended by a citadel, 12 miles S of Tripoli, a parasang from the sea, the most northern part of the Damascus territory

Raqbah? —(Is it a mistake for *Raqqa*, the capital of Diyār Mudar on the left bank of the Euphrates, anciently called Kallinikos? *Ency Islam*, iii 1108 J S)

Sahyun, Qinnasrin, —Long 60 10, Lat 35 10, celebrated as one of the strongest fortresses of Syria, W of Laodicea (Lādikiyeh) and one march from it (Abulf) It is *Sajun* in K J

Hārim, of Aleppo, —Long 60 30, Lat 35 50, a small town 2 marches W of Aleppo, and one from Antioch, Abulf It is marked in K J

Fāmyah, (Apamea), —Long 61 8 Lat 35, district of Shaizar, pronounced also with a prosthetic Alif Another Fāmyah a town situate on the Famu s-Silh near Wāsit, Abulf

Shaizar, —Has preceded [P 43]

Hamāt, Syria, —On the Orontes between Emessa and Qinnasrin, Long 61 55, Lat 34 45 (Abulf) Epiphaneia, the location of Ptolemy is Long 69 36, Lat 30 26 It is supposed to be identical with *Hamath* (2, *Sam.* viii, 9, *Kings*, viii, 65 Is x, 9) called also *Hamath* the Great It was called Hamath in St Jerome's day (see Smith *Geog. Dist*) Abulf says it is remarkable like Shaizar for the quantity of its norias [bucket water wheels] even among the Syrian cities

Marash, a fortress of Syria, —Atwal, Long 61, Lat 36 30 One of the two fortresses, the other Hadath, on the Syrian frontier They were both captured by Khālid, A H 15, Marash dismantled and its inhabitants driven out Abdulf *Annals*, I 227 De Sacy in his *Chrest Arab*, says, that its ancient name was Germanicia corrupted by the Syrians into Baniki, I 130

'Aintāb, dependency of Qinnasrin, —Long 62 30, Lat 36 30 It is 3 marches N of Aleppo, and at no great distance is the ruined fortress of Doluk, which name frequently recurs in the history of the wars between Saladin and Nur-u'ddin Doluk or Delouc as he writes it, De Sacy identifies with the ancient Doliche, (*Chrest Arab*, III 109), but this name was

applied (Doliche or Dolichiste, a long island) to the present Kakava S of Lycia by Ptolemy, Pliny and Alexander in his *Periplus of Lycia* There is no other Doliche mentioned in the *Geog Dict*

Hisn Kaifa, island in the Euphrates, —It is a town and fortress of considerable size, overlooking the Tigris between Amid and the Jazirat-i Ibn Omar of Diyār Bakr Yāqut says the river there is crossed by a bridge, the largest he had ever seen of a single span flanked by two smaller ones Amid is now Diyār Bakr The location in the text is strangely in error It is marked in K J as Hosn Kefa

Sirt, Diyār Rabi ah, —Long 68 Lat 37 20, a town situate on a hill N E of the Tigris, one day s march and a half from Mayyāfāriqin, and 4 from Amid, to the south of which Sirt stands Abulf

Hisnu-t-Tāq, Sijistān, —Long 80 30, Lat 34 40, a fortress on a high mountain near an elbow formed by the Helmand in Sijistān Abulf

Milinj ? (Mayānij, Mayānah), —Has preceded, (p 82)

Karun ?

Gilān,

Jawain, —The district dependent on Naisābur of which Azādhwar is the chief town It is called by the Persians Kowān or Gowān, Abulf II II 191

Jājram, (between Naisābur and Jurjān),

Jām, in the Naisabur territory,

Farjistān ?

Maru ? (? Merv)

Karaj i Abi Dulaf, —Has preceded

Nasā, Khurāsān, —Long 82 8, Lat 38, in Khurāsān on the confines of the desert, 67 parasangs N of Sarakhs Yāqut gives the origin of its name from the abandonment of the town by the male population on the advance of the Muhammadans Seeing no men, but only women, they exclaimed "These are women, let us go and fight elsewhere," and the name *Nisā* or Nasa was thus commemorated He places it at 2 days' journey from Sarakhs , 5 from Marw , 1 from Abivard and 6 or 7 from Naisābur

Abıward, Khurāsān, —Abıvard ın K J

Shahrıstān, frontıers of Khurāsān, —Thıs ıs another name for Isfahān, whıch followed the ancıent name of Jayy It fell ınto ruın and was replaced by Yahudıyyah, a mıle dıstant from Shahrıstān and two from Jayy The name of Yahudıyyah arose from the tradıtıon that Nabuchadnezzar, after the destructıon of Jerusalem transported ıts ınhabıtants to Isfahān Jayy-Isfahan fell ınto decay, but the Jewısh quarter prospered Thıs tradıtıon accordıng to Guyard ıs to be found ın the *Talmud*, v Abulf II II 160 There ıs a long artıcle ın Yāqut on thıs cıty

Iskalkand, Takhārıstān, —Atwal Long 92 20, Lat 36 30 A small town of Takhārıstān The prosthetıc *alıf* ıs sometımes dropped and the word pronounced wıthout ıt Abulf

Fārabr or Fırabr, on the Oxus, —Atwal Long 87 30, Lat 38 45 On the Oxus towards Bokhara Abulf Accordıng to Yāqut, ıt ıs a small town between the Oxus and Bokhara, and one parasang from the rıver , formerly called Rıbāt Tāhır b Alı

Farmyab ?

Tamghāj, —Thıs ıs the name of Northern Chına Abulf , II, III, 230 n Accordıng to D Herbelot, Tangag or Tamgaz (hıs translıteratıon of names defied even the penetratıon of Gıbbon) ıs the name of a race of Turks or Turkomans, the same natıon as the Gaz , who took prısoner Sultan Sanjar the Seljuk

Khuttlan, Transoxıana, —The name of a group of places beyond Balkh, a dıstrıct dıstınct from Waksh, but under one and the same government Its capıtals are Halāward and Lāwakand, Abulf II II 228 It has been prevıously mentıoned

Waksh, Do , —Atwal Long 90 30, Lat 38 20, a town of the Saghārıyān dıst ın Transoxıana

Shumān, ın Saghānyān, —Abulf of thıs latter mentıon has been made

Maımanah and Chıkhtu —Abd Hamıd Lahorı ın hıs *Pādıshāh-nāmah*, ıı 622 gıves *Maımanah* and *Chıchaktu* as close to Gharjıstan and Karzwān, ın Afghan Turkestān For Ghardjıstān *Ency Islam*, ıı 141 [J S] The text baffled Jarrett

THE 5TH CLIMATE

Ushbunah, Spanish Peninsula, Long 36 45, Lat 42 40 —Also called Lashbunah Lisbon

Shantarin, Do, Long 18 10, Lat 42 45 —Ancient Scalabis, now Santarem After the fall of the empire, it received the name of St Irene from St Iria, who there suffered martyrdom Reinaud

Centre of the Isle of Cadiz, Long 21 2, Lat 48 50

Madinah i Walid, Do, Long 21 52, Lat 29 20 —Valladolid

Mursyah, Do, Long 28, Lat 43 —Murcia

Madinah i Sālem, Do, Long 29 10 Lat 39 20 —Medina Celi,

Dānya, Spain, Long 31 30, Lat 41 30 —Denia, anciently Dianium or Artemisium from a temple of Diana that stood on a lofty promontory of the E coast of Hispania Tarraconensis

Tutelah, East, Do Long 30 30 Lat 43 55 —Tudela

Saraqustah Do, Do, Long 31 30, Lat 42 30 —Saragossa, Cæsar Augusta

Turtushah, Do, Do, Long 31 30, Lat 40 —Tortosa, Colonia Julia Augusta Dertosa

Jazirah-i-Mayurqah, Mediterranean Long 34 10, Lat 39 40 —Majorca, see p 77, a different location given

Haikal, known as Haikal-i-Zuhrah (Temple of Venus) N Spain, Long 34, Lat 43 —Port Vendres, Templum Veneris

Barshalonāh, country of the Franks, Long 34 30, Lat 42 —Barcelona, ancient Barcino, traditionally founded by Hercules and rebuilt by Hamilcar Barcus who gave it the name of his family, G D Smith

Arbunah, Spain or beyond it, Long 36 15, Lat 43 —Not Urbunah as in the text, but *Narbo Martins*, the Roman colony was founded in B C 118, D E The Arab geographers are divided as to its position whether in Spain or beyond it

Tarraqunah, country of the Franks Long 33, Lat 43 22 —Tarragona, Tarraco, a Phœnician colony, its name *Tarchon* said to mean a citadel, probably derived from its situation on a high rock above the sea, v *Geog Dict*

Jenua, in Frankish territory, Long 41, Lat 41 20 —Anciently Genua, the orthography Janua to support the tradition of its foundation by Janus has no authority

Rumiyah, city of the Pope, Long 33, Lat 41 21

Rabusah?

Madinah i Tabarqah, Long 55 12, Lat 48 15 —On the Mauritanian coast, E of Bona but this lat does not harmonize with previous latitudes in Mauritania Yāqut gives but one town of Tabbarkah and places it with accuracy near Beja and to the east of the town are the castles Benzert (Biserta)

Jazirah i ? Long 58 50, Lat 42 15 —The word is not pointed in the original and no indication is given

Jazirah i, Sabālyā? Long 55 15, Lat 48 15

Mansālyā, Long 45 30, Lat 45 1

Middle of the Pontus Euxinus, Long 35 15, Lat 46 5

'Ayun Asfaras, Long 36 45, Lat 48 32 —I have little doubt that for *Asfaras* should be read *Bosporus* and the waters of this channel are here intended The origin of the Thracian Bosporus attracted attention from the earliest times and it was the received opinion that the union of the Euxine and the Mediterranean was effected by a violent disruption of the continent in the deluge of Deucalion, v G D Smith

The name in the text is without vowel points

Maqābiz Borystānes, —I do not hesitate in the emdendation *Borysthenes* (Dnieper) and the mouths of the river are here intended There may be ingenuity, but there is no profit in the discovery , the whole list of Abul Fazl is the work of a scribe, not of a geographer [P 44]

Middle of Mānus? Marmaros?

The extreme of the Yarqāhi territory?

? The name is unpointed Perhaps Istros

Mouths of the Tanais, —The Don

Mauza Barnyā Nitas, —The second word is a corruption of *Palus Mæotis*, which occurs in Abulfeda in another similar form, as *Manitasch*, II, II, 143

'Alāya, in Rum (Asia Minor), Long 62 Lat 39 30 —The ancient Coracesium, the boundary between Pamphylia and Cilicia, v Ibn Batutah, II, 255

Ammuriyyah, Asia Minor, Long 64, Lat 43 —The ancient Amorium

Akuryah, called also Anqarah, Do , Long 64 40, Lat 41 45 —In Abulf Ankuryah Now Ankara

Maqedunyah, prov of Constantinople, Long 60 55, Lat 41,—Macedonia

Aqshahr, Asia Minor, Long 65, Lat 41 40—The White City, 3 days' march, N W of Iconium

Qunyah, Do, Long 66 30, Lat 41 40—Iconium

Qaisariyyah, Do, Long 60, Lat 15 40—Cæsarea, originally Mazaca, afterwards Eusebeia, the residence of the kings of Cappadocia The name was changed to Cæsarea by Tiberius *G. D.*

Aqsarāi, Do, Long 67 45, Lat 40—The White Palace, the ancient Archelais

Siwās, Do, Long 71 30, Lat 40 10—Sebasteia on the Halys, Pompey increased the town and gave it the name of Megalopolis, it was made the capital of Armenia Minor

Tarābazun, Long 78, Lat 43—Trebizonde Anciently Trapezus, named probably from its situation on a table-land above the sea Its annals are of historical interest from the time of Xenophon's retreat to its fall under Mahomed II in 1460

Shimshāt, Long 73 15, Lat 40—Samosata, the birth-place of Lucian Its situation on the Euphrates gave it, great strategical importance and it was seized by Vespasian when Antiochus, king of Commagene, meditated an alliance with the Parthians to throw off the yoke of Rome It contained the royal residence

Malāzjird, Armenia, Long 75, Lat 39 30—A small town near Arzun and N of Bidlis Abulf

Akhlāt, Do, Long 75 50, Lat 39 20—Now Aklat on Lake Van

Bābu'l Hadid, Long 76, Lat 41—Darband or the famous Iron Gates called the Gate of Gates, *Bābu'l Abwāb. Ency Islam,* i 940 under *Derbend*

Arzanjān, Long 73, Lat 39 50—In Armenia, between Siwās and Erzeroum at 40 parasangs from either Abulf

Arzan-ur-Rum, Armenia, Long 76, Lat 39 55—Erzeroum

Bard'ah, in Arran, Long 83, Lat 40 30—The capital of Arrān at the extreme of Azarbijān, nearly in ruins in Abulfeda's time [Arran means *al-Ran* or Albania, a province between Shirwān and Ajarbaijān Here the town of Partav was called by the Arabs *Bardha'a* while *Kāwalak* (Pliny's Cabalaca) called by the Arabs Qabala, was the largest town in Caucasia *Ency Islam,* i 460 J S]

Shamkur, Do, Long 83, Lat 41 50—A fortress near Bard'ah.

Khankarah? Long 83, Lat 38 40.

Arzandrum, Long 79, Lat 41 15 —Marked doubtful in the text, but it is evidently a replica of Arzan-ur-Rum, by an ignorant copyist

Taflis, Garjistan, Long 83, Lat 43 —Tiflis, or Taflis (Yāqut permits either vowel), capital of Georgia

Bailaqān, Arran, Long 83 30, Lat 39 50 —Situate in the defile of Khazarān, near Shirwān, six parasangs from Warthān

Bākuyah, Shirwān, Long 84 30, Lat 40 50 —Bāku

Shamākhi, Do , Long 84 30, Lat 40 50 —Now Shemākha in K J

Rumiya Kubra, Long 85, Lat 41 50 —This must be Medāin Kisra, which has already preceded in the 3rd Climate, but with a different location The practical use of these tables is not very evident *Madāin*, the ancient Ctesiphon had many names Its name signifies 'Cities' and was formed of the union of seven, namely, Asfāpur (Jundisabur), Darzindān, Weh 'Jundikhusrau (Arab Rumiyah) and Numābād Guyard, II, II, 76

Bābu'l Abwab, Arran, Long 89, Lat 43 —This is the same as the Bābu-l Hadid or Darband The difference in Long is no doubt caused by the change in the 1st Long and probably an error in the units both in the Long and Lat

Jazirah i Siāh Koh, in the Caspian, Long 89, Lat 43 30 —The Siāh Koh or Black mountain appears from the indications in Ibn Khaldun, (*Proleg* I 152, De Slane) to be the Caucasus Abulf places this island in the 6th Climate and this mountain in an island on the Caspian, and states that it is a range of mountain to the E of the Caspian and circling round it to Darband The eastern chain is called the Caucasus by Arrian V

Hashtar Khān —Astrakhan

Agharjah —Probably Georgia

Kāth, Khwārizm, Long 95, Lat 41 36 —On the E of Oxus, a large town according to Yāqut, most of the Khwārizm territory lying to the W It is 20 parasangs from Kurkanj Its meaning in the Khwarizm tongue is a wall or enclosure in an open plain which is comprised within no other surrounding

Kurkānj Sughra, Do , Long 94, Lat 42 30 —So in the MSS but changed to *Gurganj* by the editor Yāqut confirms the orthography of the text *Ency Islam*, ii 183 has *Gurgandj*, "a town in the northern part of Khwārizm". There are two

of the name, Kurkanj the Great, capital of Khwārizm (now Khiva) and Kurkanj the Less at 10 miles distance The Persian form is *Gurganj*, the Arabic *Jurjaniyyah* In 1216 it was a flourishing and populous town Abulf

Jurjāniyyah, Do, Long 94, Lat 42 45 —See note above The labours of Abul Fazl were confined to transcribing without investigation See *Ency Islam*, ii 183, under *Gurgandj*.

Kurkanj, the Great, capital of Khwārizmi, Long 94 30, Lat 42 17 —The deg of Lat in the last 3 names are incorrect Similar gross errors which give impossible figures are frequent

Hāzārāsb, Do, Long 95 20, Lat 41 10 – A strong citadel on the W of the Oxus, 6 parasangs from Kāth, Abulf •

Lamakshar Do, Long 94 30, Lat 4 —A large village in which the famous commentator of the *Qurān* Abu'l Qāsim Mahmud-az-Zamakhshari was a native

Darghān, Transoxiana, Long 96, Lat 40 30 —Marks the frontier of Khwārizm towards Marw, 24 parasangs from Hazārāsb

Bukhārā, one of the chief cities of Transoxiana, Long 97 30, Lat 39 30 —*Ency Islam*, i 776-783

Baikand, a dependency of Bukhara now in ruins, Long 97 30, Lat 39

Tāwawis, dependency of Bukhara, Long 97 40, Lat 39 —Seven parasangs from Bukhārā

Jand, Turkistan, Long 97 45, Lat 43 30 —Placed by Abulf in the 6th Climate It is on the Jaxartes on the frontier of Turkistān, close to Yenghi-kent

Nakhshab, called Nasf, Long 98, Lat 39 —The former is the indigenous, the latter the Arab form of the name A town in the plain, 2 marches from the mountains towards Kash and a desert intervenes between it and the Oxus

Samarqand, one of the cities of Transoxiana, Long 99, Lat 40 —Its position is defined in detail by Ibn Haukal Ouseley, 260

I'lāq, Bukhārā, Long 99 10, Lat 43 20 —Ilāq forms a district of Shāsh extending from Naubakht to Farghānah, according to Yāqut, and the town of the name in the environs of Bukhārā Abulfeda makes it almost coextensive if not identical with Shāsh and its chief town Tunkat I believe the word to signify summer station, in opp to *Qishlaq*, winter station

Kash, or Shahr-Sabz, Badakhshān, Long 99 30, Lat 39 30 —Yāqut places it near Nakhshab Its situation is given by Ibn

Haukal It is well-known by its name of *Shahr i Sabz* and lies directly S of Samarqand *Ency. Islam*, ii 786

Zāmin, dependency of Usrushnah, Long 92 40, Lat 40 30 —Pronounced also *Zamij*, on the Farghānah road to Soghd, a small locality in the environs of Samarqand, Abulf

Isfijāb, of Shāsh, Long 92 50, Lat 43 35 —On the Turkestan frontier

Usrushnah, a chief city of Transoxiana, Long 100, Lat 41 —Beyond Samarqand on the Jaxartes Yāqut mentions it as a town which Istakhri denies, allowing it to be applied only to the territory It is bounded on the E by Farghānah, W by Sāmarqand, N by Shāsh, Abulf

Shāwakath, of Shash, Long 100 30, Lat 41 10 —No further notice in the geographers than the text affords

Usbānikath, territory of Isfijāb, Long 100 30, Lat 40 —At one march distance from Isfijāb, 9 parasangs E of Usrushnah

Khojand, on the Jaxartes, Long 100 35, Lat 41 25 —7 marches to Samarqand and 4 to Shāsh, Abulf

Khawāqand, of Farghanah, Long 100 50, Lat 62 —Or Khakand, vulgarly, Khokand

Tunkat, a capital of Tāshkand, Long 101, Lat 43 —Capital of I'lāq, beyond the Jaxartes Ibn Haukal says he had heard it pronounced also with the long *a*, Yāqut writes *Tankut* It is marked in K J

Tirmidh, on the Oxus, Long 101 15, Lat 37 35 —The birth place of the great Traditionist al-Tirmidhi

Akhsikat, capital of Farghānah, Long 101 20, Lat 62 25 —Situate on the bank of the Jaxartes It is mentioned by Baber in his *Memoirs*, as the strongest town in Farghānah

Kāsān, a town beyond Shash, Long 101 35, Lat 62 15 —This district is described by Baber, *Memoirs* In consequence of its gardens being sheltered along the banks of the stream, it was called "the mantle of five lambskins"

Qubā, Farghānah, Long 101 50, Lat 42 50 —A large town of Farghānah It is the next largest to Akhsikat, the citadel in ruins, Abulf

Farghānah, Long 102, Lat 62 20 —Now Khokand

Rus, Long 102 20, Lat 43 20 —To what part of Russia this refers there is no indication Abulf has a town 'Roussye' (Reinaud), its capital, but in the 7th Climate, Long 57 32, Lat 56

Khotan, Long 107, Lat 40 —Extreme of Turkistān, celebrated for its musk, beyond Yuzkand and cis Kashghar Abulf

Chāch, or Shāsh, Long 109, Lat 42 30

Tibbet, Long 110, Lat 40

Khāju, N of China, Long 123 32, Lat 42 —Caiyon of Marco Polo Kwatcheou (Guyard) Abulf places it 15 days' journey from Pekin, between Khatā (N China) and Kaoli, province contiguous to the Corea

Sankju, Do , Long 107, Lat 40 —Sou-tcheou

Sakhas? Long 130, Lat 29 10

Mahri, of Khatā, Long 140, Lat 30 —Khata is N China I do not trace the name in Abulf , but Khuta, according to Yāqut is a town near Darband

Nashawa or Nakjowan, in Arrān, Long 101 30, Lat 39 —Ancient Nuxuana, on the W bank of the Araxes, already preceded in 4th Climate with a different location

Kushānyah, in Soghd of Samarqand, Long 98 20, Lat 39 50 —The Kushān country is identified by M St Martin with Bactriana *Hist du Bas Empire*, III, 386 (Reinaud)

Yumān? —Yunān?

Shahar Nahās? —City of brass!

Rakkān?

Kabs?

Abruq, —On this city Yāqut says 'It is a locality in the Bilād-ur-Rum (Asia Minor), visited from distant parts by both Moslems and Christians Abu Bakr al-Harawi who saw it, says that it is situated at the foot of a mountain, the entrance to it being through the gate of a fort A subterranean passage leads to a wide space in the side of a hill with an aperture to the sky In the middle is a pool round which are houses or chambers for the peasantry, whose fields are without A church and a masjid are hard by for the needs of both religions In the Crypt are several dead men with marks of spear and sword wounds, the bodies dressed in cotton garments In another spot four bodies are buried with their backs against the wall and with them a boy whose hand is on the head of a very tall man, the face of the latter is sallow, the palm of the hand open as if he were about to take the hand of another, and the head of the boy leaning on his breast By his side is a man with his upper lip cut

open, showing his teeth They all wear turbans The body of a woman suckling her child is near Five other bodies are standing with their backs against a wall, and apart on an eminence is a couch on which are 12 men and a boy, whose hands and feet are stained with *hinna*. The Greeks claim them as their own people but the Muhammadans say that they are Muslims, slain in the wars of Omar b-ul Khattāb Some pretend that their nails have grown long and that their heads are shaven This is not the case, but their skins have dried and shrivelled on their bones without other alteration " I suppose this to be Prusa ad Olympium in Bythinia, the modern Brusa, but the history of this town affords no clue to the above narrative and Ibn Batutah, who describes it under the name of Barsi, (II p 321) makes no mention of a curiosity which would scarcely have escaped his notice [Jarrett] Brusa, *Ency. Islam*, i 768 [J S]

Ufsus, . —Ephesus

Bastah, dependency of Jaen in Spain, —Baeza

Kubā? . .

Saksin, —The author of the *Kitab-ul-Atwal* mentions a town called Saqsin, Long 162 30, Lat 40 50 The people meant were the Saxons or Goths who shared the possession of the Tauric regions with the Khozas Reinaud refers to M d'Ohsson's *Hist of the Mongols* for Sacsin, v, II I 286 *Ency. Islam*, iv 82 (discussed)

Khuttlān, —Has preceded

Mikhlāt?

Rum,

Shāmas, —The island of Samos, has preceded

Shāyab?

Sintarah, West, —Thus in the MSS but changed by the Editor to Santriyyah The former signifies Cintra, of which the pronunciation on the middle age was Syntria, (Renaud, II 244) There is also a Santriyyah to the W of Fayyum, which cannot here be meant

Qabrah, Spain, —Cabra in Andalusia

Kastalul, —Castile, properly Kastilyun

Surqah?

Murghzā?

Scotislah, —In Ibn Khaldun Skousya stands for Scotland, v De Slane, I 105

Batalyus, Spain, Long 29, Lat 38 50 —Badajos, Pax Augusta

City of Wāhd? . —A corruption of Madinah-i-Wahd (Valladolid) already preceded

Mursia, —Murcia, preceded

Danya, —Denia, preceded

Sālem, —Medina Celi preceded

Sarakustah —Saragossa Do

Nuqāb? —Tukāt, Tokal? in Asia Minor

Mush, Armenia, Long 94 30, Lat 29 30 —Ancient Moxoene, two marches from Mayyafāriqin and 3 from Khalāt Abulf

THE SIXTH CLIMATE [P 46]

Jalliqiyyah, capital of the kingdom of Gallicia, Spain, Long 20, Lat 46 —The capital of the Galician country according to Abulf is Zamora

Banbalunah, Spain, Long 34 15, Lat 45 15 —Pampeluna, or Pamplona, anciently Pompelo

Burdāl, Frankish territory, Long 30 15, Lat 44 15 —Anciently Bardigala, Bordeaux

Lumbardyah, Do , Long 40 30, Lat 43 50 —This location in Abulf is that of Milan capital of Lombardy, which is here meant

Benedeqyah, Long 42, Lat 44 —Not Bunduqyah as in the text, but Venetia

Biza, N of Spain, Long 42, Lat 47 —Pisa

Borshān, Long 50, Lat 45 —"Name of the capital of the Borjans, noted for their valour, exterminated by the Germans, and no trace of them is left " Ibn Sayd quoted by Abulf He places the town to the N E of Athens and extends the country as far as Constantinople Reinaud's conjectures point to the Balgarians, but they were known as the Bulghars v his references, II 313 De Slane, however, interprets the word similarly, in *Prolog. Ibn Khaldun*, I 161

Abzou, belonging to Constantinople, Long 59 45, Lat 50 —This is Abydos, Abulf II 36

Buzantya, *i e.* Constantinople, Long 59 50, Lat 43

Kastamunyah, Long 65 30, Lat 46 20 —Corrupted in the text to Kalsutah It is Kastamuni in Anatolia, v Ibn Batutah II 342.

Sinub, on the Pontic coast, Long 65, Lat 47 —Sinope

Hırqalah, Do , Long 67 20, Lat 46 20—Heraclea Pontica , now Erekle

Amāsyah, Do , Long 57 30, Lat 45—Amasia S E of Sinope on the Irmak

Sāmsun, Do , Long 69 20, Lat 46 40—Still Samsun, anciently Amisus

Furdhat-ur-Rum, Long 74 30, Lat 46 90—For *Rum* I would read *Qarm, Furdhat* signifies a port The meaning would then be a Crimean port, see *post* Kafa

Sarir Allān, near Darband Long 83, Lat 44—Now Daghestān The Sarir is said to be a territory of the Allān (Allains) the capital of which is located in Long 74 (or 72), Lat 43, but in Ibn Khaldun, I 161, is Sinope

Balanjar, capital of the Khazars, Long 85 20, Lat 46 30—The passage relating to this name in Abulf from Ibn Sayd is contradictory, placing the town on the S of Darband, of Jorzān and then on the Volga Reinaud believes it to have been situated between the Volga and the Caucasus Some maintain that it is the same as Itil, a town taking its name from the Volga (Itil) and which stood where now is Astrakhan Jorzān is probably the Khorzene of Strabo, R [*Ency Islam,* ii 935, under *Khazar* J S]

Kersh, on the sea of Azac (Azof), Long 87, Lat 46 50—Kertch on the straits of Yenikale, v *Travels* of Ibn Batutah, p 355, II

Yenghi-kent, Turkistan, Long 96 30, Lat 47—Yeni-Kent, 'the ruins of Djankent, about 14 miles S W of the modern Kazalinsk' (*Ency Islam,* i 419)

Tarāz, Turkistān frontier, Long 99 50, Lat 25—Near Isfinjāb

Fārāb, Do , Long 98, Lat 25—Probably a repetition of *Fāryāb,* preceded in the 4th Climate

Shalj, Taraz territory, Long 100 30 Lat 44—A small town on the Turkistan frontier, Yāqut

Almālik, Long 102 20, Lat 44

Uzkand, Turkistān Long 102 50, Lat 44—Yuzkand in Transoxiana, both forms are correct according to Yāqut

Kāshghar, one of the chief cities of Turkistān, Long 106 30, Lat 44

Artan Kalorān? Long 106, Lat 46

Katālıgh, Long 108, Lat 44—Probably for Khānbālıgh, (Pekin) which follows lower down and has preceded in the first Climate under a third form

Kurāqurum, mountain in Kohistan,
Khānbāligh, capital of China,
Abuldah ?
Asht ?
Antazakht,
Fartanah ? —Probably a corruption of Qurtubah, Cordova
Tatlyah ? —Tudela ?
Asnut ? —Sinub ? (Sinope) ?
Sāmun ? —Sāmsun ?
Kastamunyah, in Asia Minor, —Has preceded
Tarābazun, —Do
Jandah, —Genoa ? [or Janik, a province of Asia Minor, J S]
Samurah, Spain, —Zamora
Lumbardiyah, —Has preceded
Borshān, —Has preceded
Balanjar, —Do
Jābulisa, —Zābulistān ?
Desert of Qipchāq, —The plain of Kipzac, says Gibbon, extends on either side of the Volga in a boundless space towards the Saik and Borysthenes and is supposed to contain the primitive name and nation of the Cossacks, CLXIV, v Ibn Batutah, II, p 536, who describes its character

THE SEVENTH CLIMATE

Shant Yāqu, frontier of Spain, Long 19, Lat 49 —St James of Compostella

Saqji, near the Euxine, Long 58 37, Lat 50 —Now Isakdje on the Danube, Ilistria

Aqja-Kirmān, Bulgaria, Long 55, Lat 50 —Now Akerman at the mouth of the Dniester

Qarqar, in the As country, Long 65 30, Lat 50 —In the interior of the Crimea, now called Tchoufout-kale or fortress of the Jews from a colony of Caryate Jews, near the Chadir Dagh mountain Reinaud, II, 319

Kafā, port in the Crimea, Long 67 50, Lat 50 —The ancient Theodosia, a colony of the Milesians, v Ibn Batutah, II 357

Solghāt, *viz*, Kirim, Long 67 10, Lat 50 10 —That is, that the name of the country Kirim was also given to Solghāt which Abulfeda calls the capital of the Crimea and bearing also its name, so that when the word Kirim is used by itself, it

signifies Solghāt It still bears the name of Eski Kirym, Reinaud, n p 320, v Ibn Batutah, II 354

Tirnau, in the Ulāk (Valak) country, Long 57 30, Lat 50 —Ternovo or Ternovaia in Wallachia

Bulār, *i.e*, Bulghār on the shores of the Itil Sea (Caspian), Long 90, Lat 50 30 —The actual position of this town was on the W bank of the Volga, 135 versts S of Kasan From the fact of coins having been found bearing the name of Bolgar-aljadid or New Bulghar the existence of two towns has been supposed, and Erdmann, professor of O Languages in the Univ of Kasan, proposes or establishes a distinction between Bolar and Bulghar Ibn Batutah passed three days in the town, II, 399

Azaq, a port on the Sea of Azaq, Long 75, Lat 48 —Azof at the mouth of the Don

Sarāi, capital of the Barakah country —Ibn Batutah visited this town from Astrakhan (II 446) The town was called Sera Barakah, the capital of Sultan Uzbec This name is also given to the Prince by Abulf The town stands on an E branch of the Volga where the Tsarewka and Soloenka streams join that river It was destroyed by Tamerlane in 1403 See Reinaud's notes and references on this name, II, 323

Alukak, in the Sarai country, Long 85, Lat 49 55 —On the W bank of the Volga between Sarāi and Bulār at 15 marches from each The horde of the Tartar prince of Barakah advances as far as this, but does not pass beyond, Abulf

Nahād? Aral Sea, —Aral in *Ency Islam*, i 419

Middle of the lake, the source of the Oxus, —This is either *Sarikol* on the Pamir tableland, the source of the northern Oxus which Wood discovered on 12th February 1838, or *Barkat Yāsin*, the source of the southern branch, traced in 1868 by the Mirzā an employee in the G T S It is doubtful which of these two should rank as the chief source of the Oxus

Bātik? —? *Batiha*—the marshland *Ency Islam*, i 675. [J S]

Bajnah? Turkistan,

Siqlāb, —Slavonia The Saqlab peninsula, Reinaud considers to comprise the country between the Oxus and Dnieper,

but Norway, Sweden and Finland are included in it by Abulfeda, II, 314

Mushqah, in the Slav country on the sea, —Ibn Sayd gives the Long 43, Lat 58 20 This country is also placed by Kazwini on the shore of the ocean, but it is probable, as Reinaud supposes, that Moscow is intended, its real position being unknown

Tabr?

Kālak?

Sankirmān, Bulghār and Turk country, —Long 55, Lat 5, east of Akerman, five days' march of Solghāt, Abulf Sarou or Sari Kirmān is the Tartar name of the old town of Kherson, the cradle of Russian Christianity Its ruins still called by the same name, are near Sebastopol

Jābalq, extreme W of Mauritania —Jabulkā and Jabulsā are mythical cities placed at opposite sides of the mountain of Kāf, which is said to encircle the earth, but Jabulkā is generally placed at the extreme E and Jabulsā to the W They are employed in a religious sense to signify the first stages of a contemplative life, v *Burhan-i-Qati'* or Vuller's *Lex.* and Yāqut, also Tabari *Chron* , pp 27, 36, I

Shore of the Ocean, Long 10, Lat 34

Mari Kirmān? —Probably Sari Kirman

Sudāq, on the Euxine, —Long 56, Lat 51 A town in the Crimea, a rival to Kufā in trade , opposite Samsun in Asia Minor, Abulf now Novo Shudāk

Islands of Urdujard? —In some MS Rudjard

Islands of Budan?

Islands of Qumi, —Probably misscript for Thule The Shetlands

Nihānah? on the Ocean

Tamah, by some said to be on the Ocean, by others rising above the Ocean

Bor, a city near the regions of darkness

Cupola of the earth, Long 90

Middle of the *Oikoumene*, Long 90

Middle of the sea of Manus? . Already preceded Perhaps Marmora

Extreme of the country of Barqānyah, Long 36 20, Lat 51 20 — Brittany or Armorica, according to Reinaud is here intended

and Ibn Sayd's language reproduces that of the text, 'the extreme of the Bretagne country' which he places at Long 9, Lat 50 30.

Mouths of the Tānānis, Long 36 55, Lat 52 50 —Preceded, for Tananis, read *Tanais*.

Mouths of Tāmānish, Long 37, Lat 54 1 —Long almost illegible It is probably a repetition of the above

Locality on the Niā Natis, Long 37 55, Lat 55 —Preceded corruption of *Mānitash*, (Palus Mæotis)

Villages called Nablus, Long 5 45 —Deg of Long and Lat illegible

Country adjacent to Lesser Britain, Long 18, Lat 58

Middle of Great Britain, Long 17 20, Lat 56

Middle of Lesser Britain, Long 29, Lat 61

Extreme point of Lesser Britain, Long 29, Lat 62

Islands called Anudu, Long 29, Lat 6 —In some MS Aluh or *Alwah*

Islands called Thule, Long 20, Lat 63

Afam, in the Slav country, Long 64

Parts of the Slav country,

Uninhabited,

Extremest point of the world , here all the Zodiacal signs rise and set Lat 90

To find the Distances of Places [36]

[P 48] The longitude and latitude of the given places are ascertained The excess difference between each is multi-

[36] In his XXI Chap of the *Indica*, Albiruni refers to several of his publications in which the method of finding the distances has been worked out These are not repeated, but he gives the calculation of the *desāntara, i e., difference between the places* according to the Hindu method as reported by Alfazāri, in his *Cānon, viz.*, "Add together the squares of the sines of the latitudes of the two places and take the root of the sum This root is the *portio* Further square the difference of these two sines and add it to the *portio*. Multiply the sum by 8 and divide the product by 377 The quotient is the distance between the two places according to a rough calculation On this Albiruni remarks, "This method is found in the astronomical books of the Hindus, in conformity with the account of Alfazāri save in one particular The here-mentioned *portio* is the *root* of the *difference* between the squares of the sines of the two latitudes, not the *sum* of their squares " I do not find the calculation mentioned by Abul Fazl, of this astronomer

plied into itself and the products which are called squares (for the square of a number is that number multiplied by itself) are set down and the two squares added together and their square root extracted This root is then multiplied into $56\frac{2}{3}$ *Karoh* which is the extent of a degree according to the moderns, or into $66\frac{2}{3}$ which is the degree according to the ancients, and the product is the distance of the two places from each other As long as a variation in the extent of longitudes and latitudes arises, the excess is multiplied proportionately and the result ascertained, where the longitudes and latitudes are equal, the rule does not hold good This distance is calculated on the straight line, but some discrepancy will occur from the curve in direction Abu Raihān Biruni has calculated this approximately and added a fifth of the result found

SINGULAR RESULTS ARISING FROM ACCIDENT OF LOCATION

At the equator all the stars rise and set and the periods of both are equal Night and day are constant in twelve hours each, and the movement of the celestial sphere is circular In the first of Aries and Libra the sun is in the zenith and casts two shadows, and at these two periods where the temperature is equable over the greater part of the *oikoemeny*, at the equator the heat is excessive and the gnomon has no shadow When the sun passes the first of Aries and inclines to the north, the shadow is thrown to the south, and when he passes the first of Libra and moves southwards, the shadow is cast to the north The year has six seasons Two summers, from the 1st° of Aries to the 15th° of Taurus, and from the 1st° of Libra to the 15th° of Scorpio, two winters, from the 1st° of Cancer to the 15th° of Leo, and from the 1st° of Capricorn, to the 15th° of Aquarius At the change of the Sun into Cancer, the temperature rises in the climatic zones inclined from the equator, whereas at the equator it is the beginning of winter It has also two springs, from the

16th° of Leo to the end of Virgo, and from the 16th° of Aquarius to the end of Pisces, and two autumns, from the 16th° of Taurus to the end of the Gemini and from the 16th of Scorpio to the end of Sagittarius Avicenna and some learned men maintain that the equator is the most equable in temperature of all countries, because the seasons of cold and heat follow in close succession and the sun does not remain long in the zenith Fakhr-Rāzi[37] and another school select the fourth climate and say that "although the sun's stay in the zenith is but for a short period, on the other hand he is never more remote than 23 degrees and a fraction, and we observe that in places where the greatest altitude of the sun is less than its altitude at the equator, as for instance at Khwarizm, where his altitude on the first of Cancer is 71° which is 5° lower than his altitude at the equator, the people are much inconvenienced by the heat, while at the equator it is the cold season But as the altitude there is 5° greater, it follows that the winter of the equator should be hotter than the summer of Khwarizm, what then would its summer be? And the colour and appearance of the Ethiopians who are near the zone of the equator support this view" The partisans of each school maintain their several opinions at considerable length The true resolution is this, that equability in the sense of approximate similarity of conditions is more apparent at the equator, and great heat on account of this assimilation, is to a certain extent unfelt, because the sensations caused by physical impressions succeeding each other rapidly have less force, while sensations directly antagonistic are more perceptible though disregarded in view of the equality in the constant proportions of heat and cold In the first mentioned sense, therefore, Avicenna is correct, while in

[37] Abu Bakr, *Ency Islam*, iii 1134 under *ar-Rāzi*. Muhammad Ibn Zakariyyā ar Rāzi is known in the Schools of Medicine of the middle ages as Rasis, Rhazes or Rhazis, b 864, d 925 A D, as distinguished in Philosophy, Chemistry and Astronomy as in Medicine

the latter, the opinion of Ar Rāzi is tenable. Every place which has not the equinoctial and its pole directly in the zenith is accounted among climatic zones inclined from the equator, and these are specially differentiated in five classes The first is in a latitude less than the greatest declination of the Sun from the equator · the latitude of the second is equal to the greatest declination that of the third is greater than the declination but less than its complement *measured from the equator* that of the fourth is equal to the complement that of the fifth is greater than the complement but less than 90° In the first, the sun is twice in the zenith, from the 1st of Aries to Cancer and from the 1st of Cancer to Libra and casts here also two shadows In the second he is only once in the zenith, in Cancer Here and in the remaining zones where the sun does not culminate, the shadow is thrown to the north At the spot where the pole of the equinoctial is directly perpendicular it is 90° and the movement of the celestial sphere is like a mill The year there forms a nycthemeron as has already been explained There is no doubt that the fabled darkness[38] which is the tradition of the vulgar, refers to the gloom of these nights The points of the east, west, north and south are not here distinguishable

Some divide the *oikoemeny* into three parts The first is from the equator to a position the latitude of which is equal to the greatest declination of the sun from the equator The inhabitants of this region are called *Sudān* (blacks), because the sun shining directly above them, they are coloured by its rays and their hair is curly Those who dwell proximate to the equator are called Zingis[39] They are

[38] *Ency Islam*, ii 862, under *al-Khadir* It is here that eastern fable locates the fountain of the water of life, which the mythical prophet, saint, or bard al Khidr is said to have discovered and tasted, and received his immortality

[39] The inhabitants of Zanguebar, including the "Zingis" of Ptolemy near the entrance of the Red Sea and a large portion of inner Africa, v Lane *Lex*,

absolutely black and scarce resemble human beings. Those who live near the region of the greatest declination, are less swarthy and being of moderate stature and equable disposition are more of a class with the natives of Hindustan, and Yemen and some of the Mauritanian Arabs The second is the region of which the latitude extends from the greatest declination to a quarter parallel with the Great Bear.[40] The colour of its inhabitants is inclined to fairness and as the sun does not shine perpendicularly above them and yet is never far removed, their bodies are fashioned in a naturally-adjusted mean, as the Chinese, the Turks, and the people of Khurāsān, Irāq, Persia and Syria Of this race, those who dwell nearest to the south have a subtler intellect because they are nearer the zodiac and the orbits of the five planets, while those are of a more powerful build who inhabit the regions to the west Proximity to the east produces a softness of frame and by such as these great deeds are never accomplished. The third region is parallel with the orbit of the Great Bear such as the country of the Sclavonians and Russians, and as it is distant from the Zodiac and little affected by the heat of the sun, the cold impels to hardihood, moisture is predominant, and natural living products do not mature Their colour is fair, their hair red and worn long, their bodies sleek, their temper fierce and their disposition inclined to evil Hermes,[41] the most

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[40] According to the *Vishnu Dharma*, the orbit of the Great Bear lies under the pole under it the orbit of Saturn then that of Jupiter next, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon They rotate towards the east like a mill in a uniform motion peculiar to each star, some moving rapidly, others slowly Albiruni criticises this statement with his usual intelligence See *Indica,* Chap XXVII, Sachau, p 288

[41] The Hermetic books are said by Fabricius to be the forgeries of a Jew or of a semi-Platonic semi-Christian writer of about the 2nd century after Christ Hermes Trismegistus himself is a fiction of the Neo Platonists and was the offspring of the Oriental and Hellenic philosophies He was the supposed mystic author of all knowledge and the author, on the authority of Manetho, of 36,525 books His principal works published under this name are given in the *Class Dict.* of Dr W Smith,

celebrated of the name, divides the earth into seven parts analogous with the seven spheres, one within the other. The first towards the south is the continent of India: the second, Arabia, Yemen, and Abyssinia · the third, Egypt, Syria and Mauritania. the fourth, Persia · the fifth, the Greeks, Sclavonians, Franks · the sixth, the Turks and the Khazars: the seventh, China, Khotan and Tibbet

It is said that Noah apportioned the length of the habitable globe into three lots The southern he gave to Ham, and this is the country of [50] the blacks and the Arabs the northern to Japhet, where the fair-skinned, ruddy faced races dwell the middle portion was assigned to Shem, inhabited by the wheat-coloured people Feridun divided the breadth of his dominions into three parts, the eastern he gave to Tur the western to Salm and the intermediate tract to Iraj Some of the Greeks have made two sections of the habitable earth latitudinally from Egypt The eastern they call Asia, the western which is the Mediterranean Sea, they subdivide into two, that on the south being named Libya, the country of the negroes, and that on the north Europe[42] where dwell the white and ruddy-complexioned races Bisecting Asia from the angle between the east and north transversely in a southerly direction, they divide it into two segments, of which the inner is the less and the outer the greater. The middle is called Asia Minor and comprises the country of Irān, Hijāz, Yemen and Khurāsān The outer is Asia Major, comprising China,[43] India and Sind Some say that Hindu philosophers

[42] This tripartite division into Europe Asia and Libya was unknown to Homer, and the earliest allusions to it are found in the writers of the 1st half of the 5th century B C, *viz*, Aeschylus and Pindar and the logographers Hecatæus and Pherecydes, v Art Asia, Smith *C D* Herodotus discusses it in Melpomene (42) with some wonder at the character of the division

[43] This partition into A Major and A Minor was not made, according to a writer in the *Cl Dic.* till the 4th century of our era Asia Major (A *y megaly*) was part of the continent E of the Tanais, the Euxine, an imaginary line drawn from the Euxine at Trebizond to the Gulf of Issus and the Mediterranean It in-

partition the habitable earth into a diagram of nine parts, *viz.*, the south (*dahkhin*) the Arabian country, the north (*uttar*), that of the Turks; the east, (*purab*), China; the west, (*pachchim*), Egypt and Barbary; the north-east (*isān*), Khata and Khotan, the north-west (*bāyab*), the Greeks and Franks, the south-west (*nairit*) the country of the Copts and Berbers, Africa and Spain The middle country was called *Madhya-desa* [44] But this account is not found in this order in any Sanskrit work nor is it thus handed down by any of the learned of this country

The Scale of Notation

	Units up to 9	Ekam.
	10 ,, 100	Dasa
	100 ,, 1000	Sata
	1,000 ,, &c	Sahasra
	10,000 ,, &c	Ayuta
	100,000	Laksh vulg lakh
	1,000,000	Prayuta
	10,000,000	Koti, vulg Kror
	100,000,000	Arbuda
[51]	1,000,000,000	Abja
	10,000,000,000	Kharba
	100,000,000,000	Nikharba
	1,000,000,000,000	Mahāpadma
	10,000,000,000,000	Sanku
	100,000,000,000,000	Jaladhi
	1,000,000,000,000,000	Madhya
	10,000,000,000,000,000	Antya
	100,000,000,000,000,000	Parardha.

cluded Sarmatia Asiatica, with all the Scythian tribes to the E., Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Armenia, Syria, Arabia, Babylonia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Media, Susiana, Persis, Ariana, Hyrcania, Margiana, Bactriana, Sogdiana, India, China Asia Minor (A *y mikra* Anatolia) was the peninsula on the extreme W of Asia, bounded by the Euxine, Ægean and Mediterranean

[44] He has omitted the S E The diagram will be found in Albiruni's *Indica*, Ch XXXIX, 262, Sachau, with the authorities Abul Fazl's ill-digested knowledge is heaped up indiscriminately without order or method and without heed or consciousness of the worthlessness of so much of it

The Brahmans have not more than eighteen places of notation, the first being units, *Ekam,* and the rest proceeding by multiples of ten. All above units have a separate designation as above noted, thus differing from the Greek compounds of notation An intervening number of this scale, for instance, fifteen, is included in the second, one hundred and [52] twelve, in the third place, and so on [45] And further by the addition of eleven places *to the eighteen,* they reckon up to twenty-nine places and employing the terms of six of the series, the remainder are suffixed as compounds, as will be seen from what follows. Thus: Tens, hundreds, thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, krors , krors tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, krors of krors ; krors of krors tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands—nineteen places from the unit's place, and this illustrates the foregoing description Krors or krors tens of thousands is 1,000,000,000,000,000,000, up to nine tens of thousands of krors of krors, and in a descending scale, nine thousand krors of krors and nine hundred so on to nine. Again, krors of krors lakhs, tens of krors of krors of lakhs, krors of krors of krors; krors of krors of krors tens, hundreds, thousands, tens of thousands, lakhs, tens of lakhs, krors of krors of krors of krors,[46] which series proceeds in the manner above given

The Greeks have their scale of notation from one to nine, and the recurring ternary series they call a cycle. Thus from one to nine are units, from ten to ninety, tens, and from one hundred to nine hundred, hundreds. This is termed the first cycle From one thousand to nine thousand are units of

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[45] Read the 16th Chapter of Albiruni's India in connection with this reckoning He says some maintain a 19th order called Bhuri According to others the limit of reckoning is *koti* and starting from koti the succession would be koti, tens, hundreds, thousands, etc Sachau has inadvertently reversed this order Albiruni adds that *Dasa sahasra,* and *Dasa laksha* are used for the 5th and 7th orders respectively, as the terms *Ayuta* and *Prayuta* are rarely employed

[46] 10,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000,000 Twenty-nine places from the units

thousands, from ten thousand to ninety thousand are tens of thousands, and from one hundred thousand to nine hundred thousand are hundreds of thousands This they call the second cycle And thus at the end of each cycle the word "thousands" is added, as for instance, the third cycle begins with units of thousands of thousands, *i e*, a thousand thousand, followed by tens of thousands of thousands, *i e*, ten thousand thousand up to ninety thousand thousand Next follows hundreds of thousands of thousands, *i e*, a hundred thousand thousand. The beginning of the fourth cycle is units of thousands of thousands of thousands, and so on throughout the remainder of the series The designations in all are but three, *viz.*, tens, hundreds, thousands, and as to what is said in ancient books of this system being borrowed from the Greeks, the version above given certainly does not support it

THE QUARTERS OF THE GLOBE

The Hindus term a quarter *disā* and also *dig* and of these they reckon ten Each of them they consider to be under a tutelary spirit whom they name *Dig-pāla* as will appear in the following table —

[53] Sanskrit name of quarter	English	Regent.[47]
Purva	East	Indra
Agni	South-east	Agni
Dakshina	South	Yama
Nairrita	South-west	Nairrita
Paschima	West	Varuna
Vāyaviya	North-west	Vayu
Uttara	North	Kuvera
Isāna	North-east	Isāna
Urddhva	Above	Brahma
Adhah	Below	Naga

[47] Indra is the Indian Jupiter, in Sansk *Dyaush-pitar*, or that one among the many Jupiters which personified the firmament

[54] Some assign a quarter to the interval between the upper and lower regions and thus reckon eleven. The regent of this is Rudra

Agni is the god of fire, and one of the most ancient objects of Hindu worship who answers to the Vulcan of Egypt Yama in the *Vedas* is the god of the dead with whom the departed spirits dwell The S W regent is a demon or Rakshasa Varuna is one of the oldest vedic deities, and like its derivative *Ouranos* a personification of the all-encompassing sky The name also designates one of the lunar mansions The god of the air, the Hindu Eolus is represented by Vayu and is associated in the *Vedas* with Indra, riding in the same car Kuvera, as living in the shades and being the god of wealth, unites the characteristics of Pluto and Plutus. Isāna is a name of Siva or of one of his manifestations The serpent-worshipping Nagas may boast of their connection with or descent from this regent of the nether world Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, xi 560, xii 602—610 and Macdonnell and B Keith's *Vedic Index* [J S]

CHAPTER III

ANIMAL LIFE

This subject cannot be altogether omitted and shall be cursorily touched upon In what relates to man, somewhat has already been set down In distinguishing the finer shades observable in the measure of divergence in the dispositions of men in this region of the globe, investigation points to little discovery Judges of character, generally, when considering the Hindu people, incline to the ancient opinion that each of them is a presentment of the race contained in the individual One, from the eminence of his virtues will be beyond price, another will be dear at the basest coin If regarded with the eyes of impartiality, the sincerely devout of this country are unlike the seekers of God in other lands and in warring with interior spiritual foes that wear the guise of friends, they are rarely to be matched Their knowledge of affairs, capacity in execution, recklessness of valour, fidelity, especially in times of difficulty, their devoted attachment and disinterested service, and other eminent good qualities are beyond measure great And yet there are many obdurate and pitiless spirits, devoid of gentle courtesy who for the merest trifle will rise to the shedding of blood, and marvellous are the tales told of these ravening fiends in the guise of angels.

The Hindu philosophers reckon four states of auspiciousness which they term *varna*[1] 1 *Brāhmana* 2 *Kshatriya* vulgarly, *Khatri* 3 *Vaisya*, vulgarly *Bais*. 4 *Sudra*, vulgarly *sudra* Other than these are termed *Mlechchha* At the creation of the world the first of these classes was pro-

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[1] The term in its primitive meaning signifies 'colour', the Aryans from the north priding themselves on their fair complexion, in contradistinction to the 'black skin' typical of the indigenous races The term subsequently was applied to caste —Hastings, *Encyclopædia*, iii 230-239, Muir's *Sansk Texts*, i, and *Vedic Index* (under *Varna*)

duced from the mouth of Brahma, a brief account of whom has already been given. the second, from his arms; the third, from his thigh and the fourth from his feet; the fifth from the cow *Kāmadhenu*,[2] the name of Mlechcha being employed to designate them

The *Brahmans* have six recognised duties [3] 1 The study of the Vedas and other sciences. 2 The instruction of others (in the sacred texts) 3 The performance of the *Jag*, that is oblation of money and kind to the Devatas 4 Inciting others to the same. 5. Giving presents. 6. Receiving presents.

Of these six the *Kshatriya* must perform three, 1 Perusing the holy texts. 2. The performance of the Jag 3 Giving presents Further they must, 1. minister to Brahmans. 2 Control the administration of worldly government and receive the reward thereof 3. Protect religion. 4 Exact fines for delinquency and observe adequate measure therein 5 Punish in proportion to the offence 6 Amass wealth and duly expend it. 7. Supervise the management of elephants, horses, and cattle and the functions of ministerial subordinates 8 Levy war on due occasion 9 Never ask an alms 10. Favour the meritorious and the like

[55] The *Vaisya* almost must perform the same three duties of the Brahman, and in addition must occupy himself in: 1. Service 2 Agriculture. 3. Trade. 4 The care of cattle 5. The carrying of loads.

From birth to the time of investiture with the sacred thread, these ten duties may be performed by all the three castes above-mentioned

The Sudra is incapable of any other privilege than to serve these three castes,[3] wear their cast-off garments and eat

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[2] The granter of desires,' said to have been produced at the churning of the ocean, belonging to the sage Vasishtha Called also Kāma-duh, Savalā and Surabhi Dowson

[3] See these duties in the *Institutes of Manu*, I, 88, and ff, p 12, Burnell's Trans

their leavings He may be a painter, goldsmith, blacksmith, carpenter, and trade in salt, honey, milk, butter-milk, clarified butter and grain.

Those of the fifth class, are reckoned as beyond the pale of religion, like infidels, Jews and the like By the inter-marriages of these, sixteen other classes are formed The son of Brahman parents is acknowledged as a Brahman If the mother be a Kshatriya, (the father being a Brahman) the progeny is called *Murdhavasikta* If the mother be a Vaisya, the son is named *Ambastha*,[4] and if a Sudra girl, *Nishada* If the father and mother are both Kshatriya, the progeny is Kshatriya If the mother be a Brahman, (and the father a Kshatriya) the son is called *Suta* If the mother be a Vaisya, the son is *Mahisya* If the mother be a Sudra, the progeny is *Ugra* If both parents be Vaisya, the progeny is Vaisya If the mother be a Brahman, (which is illicit) the progeny is *Vaideha* but if she be a Kshatriya, which also is regarded as improper, he is *Māgadha* From the Vaisya by a Sudra mother is produced a *Karana* When both parents are Sudra, the progeny is Sudra If the mother be a Brahman, the progeny is *Chandala* If she be a Kshatriya, it is called *Chattā*[5] From a Sudra by a Vaisya girl is produced the *Ayogava*.

In the same way still further ramifications are formed, each with different customs and modes of worship and each with infinite distinctions of habitation, profession, and rank of ancestry that defy computation

[4] These names and many other variations of the progeny of inter-marriages will be found in the tenth chapter of the *Institutes of Manu* The management of horses and driving wagons, is therein said to be the occupation of Sutas, the practice of medicine that of Ambasthas, attendance on women, that of Vaidehakas, trade that of Māgadhas, killing fish that of Nishādas, carpentry of Ayogavas Catching and killing animals that live in holes, is the occupation of Ksattars, Ugras, and Pukkasas

[5] According to Burnell, (X 306) the term is Ksattar, Sir W Jones writes Cshattri Muir (*Sans Texts*, I 174), Kshattri,

The Brahmans, in regard to the study of the Vedas, are of four classes, and each occupies himself with the perusal of a special sacred work[6] There are twenty ways of reading the *Rigveda*, the *Yajurveda* has eighty-six; the *Sāmaveda*, one thousand, and the *Atharvaveda*, five, and their several disciples fall into distinct categories. There may be also ten distinctions of Brahmans, according to their occupations 1. Deva 2 Muni 3. [56] Dvi-ja 4 Rājā. 5 Vaisya 6 Sudra. 7. Bidālaka 8. Pasu. 9. Mlechchha. 10 Chandāla.

The first named perform the *Hom*[7] for themselves, not for others, and give presents, but do not receive them, and learn, but do not teach The second perform the *Hom* for others as well as for themselves and receive gifts and teach The third class have twelve distinctive notes,—The six aforesaid and 7. Meekness 8 Restraint of the five senses from things unlawful. 9 Unshrinking from austerities 10 Attachment to the precepts of the Vedas 11 Taking no life 12 Attributing the possession of nothing to themselves The fourth class perform the same offices as the *Kshatriya* The fifth, those of the Vaisya The sixth, those of the Sudra The seventh class have the characteristic of cats,[8]

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[6] According to Albiruni, Vyāsa divided the Veda into the four parts named below, and to each of his four pupils, he taught a separate Veda to be learnt by heart They are enumerated in the same order as the four parts of the Veda Paila Vaisampāyana, Jaimini, Sumantu

[7] This oblation consists in casting clarified butter, etc , into the sacred fire as an offering to the gods, with invocations and prayers according to the object of sacrifice

The three castes of the Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaisya, were called, *dvi-ja*, twice-born, from their title to investiture with the sacred thread which literally constitutes the second birth, but the term is particularly applied to the Brahmans, who maintain that their caste alone remains, the other three having been lost or degraded and it is generally accepted that the pure Kshatriya or Vaisya does not now exist The intercourse and inter-marriage of various castes have produced the mixed castes called Varna-Sankara, see Dowson, 336

[8] The Bidālaka, from Sansk,

go from door to door and mix with high and low. The eighth, like brutes[9] know not good from evil. The ninth follow the practices of the Mlechchhas (barbarians or non-Aryans), and the tenth are low outcasts and eat carrion.

The Kshatriya form two races, the *Surajbansi* (Solar dynasty) and the *Somabansi* (Lunar dynasty). The first mentioned are descendants of the Sun. It is said that by the volition of Brahma, *Marichi*[10] was created who begot *Kasyapa* (Muni), from whom the Sun (Vivasvān or Surya) sprung From him was produced *Vaivaswata* from whose nose *Ikshwāku* came forth by a sneeze and from him the succeeding generations proceeded Three princes of this race ruled the world and extended their dominion over the seven climes These were Rājā Sagara,[11] Rājā Khatwānga, and Rājā Raghu.

The second race is descended from the Moon. From Brahma was born *Atri*, from whose right eye came forth the Moon (Soma) who begot Mercury (Budha) and from him proceeded the succeeding generations Two princes of this race held universal sway, namely, *Rājā Yudhisthira* and *Rājā Satānika* There are more than five hundred tribes of the Kshatriyas of whom fifty-two are preeminently distinguished and twelve are of considerable importance At the present day, no trace of the true Kshatriya exists Some of their descendants, abandoning the profession of arms, have taken

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[9] The Pasu from Sansk

[10] Abul Fazl's names and transliterations are incorrect I substitute the true readings of the names as far as I am able to discover them

[11] Notices of these three legendary princes will be found in Dowson After Raghu the line practically loses its original name of the Surajbansi and is known as Raghubansi or Raghu-bansa from whom Rama Chandra descended and whose epic the Raghu-vansa in 19 cantos was sung by Kālidāsa Sagara was a king of Ayodhyā and his wife Sumati was delivered of a gourd containing 60,000 seeds which became embryos and grew The anxious father placed them on milk but afterwards provided each with a nurse and at ten months' old they were all able to run about.

to other occupations and this class is known to the world by this name Another body of them adopting the sword as their calling are designated Rājputs, and are divided into thousands of septs I record the names of a few of the most renowned, that are now in His Majesty's service

[57] 1 The Rāthor, there are several tribes of this clan in service They number sixty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry 2 The Chauhān are divided into several branches, *viz* , Sungira, Khichi, Deora, Hādā, and Narbān.[12] The troops of the clan number fifty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry 3 The Panwār In ancient times, of this tribe was the royal dynasty in Hindustān, and it numbered many clansmen At the present time their force consists of twelve thousand cavalry and sixty thousand foot 4. The Jādon Fifty-thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand foot. 5. Bhāti. 6 Jārejah 7. Januhah, to which clan the Khānzādahs of Mewāt belong. 7 Gehlot Twenty thousand cavalry and three hundred thousand foot 8 Sesodia. 9 Chandrāwat 10 The Kachhwāhah, who are celebrated among the Rājputs, and number twenty thousand cavalry, and one hundred thousand infantry 11 The Solankhi Thirty thousand cavalry and one hundred thousand infantry 12 Parihāra. 13. Tonwar, for a time the sovereignty of this country rested in this tribe They number ten thousand horse and twenty five thousand foot 14 Badgujar Ten thousand horse, and forty thousand foot Each of these tribes claim an ancestry traced back to hundreds of thousands of years, a source of splendid pride to the intelligent judgment and is indeed a theme far above the level of an idle tale to distract the mind.

The Vaisya and the Sudra are in the same way divided into numerous branches For instance, there is one caste of

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[12] Sherring gives the names of twenty-four branches, I, Chap V The deeds of many of these famous clans are preserved by Tod in his *Rājasthān*

the Vaisyas called *Banik*, more commonly termed *Baniyā*, (grain-merchant). The Persians name them *Bakkāl* and of these there are eighty-four divisions

There are besides troops of astonishing sorcerers, cunning jugglers, [58] wonder-working magicians, and conjurers of such sleight of hand, performing such extraordinary feats that not the vulgar alone, but the acutest minds are deceived into a belief in their miraculous powers For instance, one of them will say in broad day-light to one of the spectators: "I have just returned from heaven, and having there been assured of your honour and probity, I entrust my wife to your care" Then placing her in his charge, he takes a coil of rope of untanned hide, one end of which he holds in his hand, and flings the coil to such a height that the other end becomes invisible By means of this he mounts up and is lost to sight After a little time his limbs one after the other come falling from above, upon which the woman, after their national rite, burns herself in presence of the spectators and is consumed to ashes In a brief space of time, the man himself reappears and claims his charge The spectators relate to him what has happened which he affects to disbelieve, and hastening to the house of the person to whom he had entrusted her, calls to his wife from the door She comes forth, giving thanks for his safety, and leaves the spectators in bewilderment. Again he will cut a man up into forty pieces, and cover him over with a sheet Then at his summons, the man will appear unhurt and answer for his reality.[13]

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[13] Similar performances are described by Ibn Batutah who witnessed them at an entertainment of the Viceroy of Khansa (Kinsay of Polo) Another witness to similar feats is Edward Melton, an Anglo-Dutch traveller who was present at a like scene in Batavia in 1670, where the limbs that fell successively were caught up and cast into a basket The last fragment was the head and no sooner had it touched the ground than the man who had gathered up the limbs into the basket, turned them all out topsy turvy Melton continues as follows "Then straightway we saw with these

Or, he will place some grains of mustard seed in the palm of his hand, and by some incantation, will make it straight way shoot and bear leaves and fruit. In the same way they will produce mangoes and melons out of season. In short, the marvels of their sorceries, and snake-charming and the like, are beyond expression.

LANGUAGES.

Throughout the wide extent of Hindustan, many are the dialects that are spoken, and the diversity of those that do not exclude a common inter-intelligibility are innumerable Those forms of speech that are not understood one of another, are the dialects of Delhi, Bengal, Multān, Mārwār, Gujarāt, Telingānah, Marhatta, Karnātik, Sind, Afghān of Shāl (between Sind, Kābul, and Qandahār), Beluchistān, and Kashmir.

FAUNA.

A summary description of the noblest of the animal creation having been given, I proceed to notice the lower types of animal life.

The Ban-mānus is an animal like a baboon, dark in colour, and in stature and face resembling a human being and

eyes, all those limbs creep together again, and in short, form a whole man who at once could stand and go just as before without showing the least damage Never in my life was I so astonished as when I beheld this wonderful performance and I doubted now no longer that these misguided men did it by the help of the Devil ' The Memoirs of the Emperor Jahāngir furnish further testimony of similar performances by seven jugglers from Bengal In one feat, a man is severed limb from limb and decapitated and reproduced from under a sheet In the other the Emperor says, 'They produced a chain 50 cubits in length and threw one end of it towards the sky where it remained as if fastened to some thing in the air A dog was brought forward and being placed at the lower extremity of the chain, immediately ran up and disappeared in the air In the same manner, a hog, a panther, a lion and a tiger were successively sent up and all equally disappeared At last they took down the chain and put it into a bag, no one discovering in what way the different animals were made to vanish Yule's *Marco Polo* (Ed 1871), p 281

walks on two feet. Although it has no tail, its body is slightly covered with hair One of these was brought to His Majesty from Bengal which performed the most astonishing antics. Elephants, lions,[14] leopards, panthers, tigers, bears, wolves and dogs of various breeds, and monkeys, lynxes, hyænas, jackals, foxes, otters, cats, white and tawny and even winged that will fly for a short distance, and other kinds of animals are numerous *Sardul* is the name of an animal smaller than a dog but preys upon lions and other wild beasts Through the encouragement of His Majesty, the breed of horses is as fine as those of Irāk and Arabia The rhinoceres is a stupendous creature He is twice the size of a buffalo and much resembles a horse in armour His feet and hoofs are like those of an elephant, and his tail similar to a buffalo's, and he has a pastern-joint like a horse On the point of his snout he carries a single horn and his hide is so thick that an arrow will not pierce it Of this, breast-plates and shields and the like are made, and he is bold enough to charge a man on horseback The black antelope, has two long horns and for beauty and swiftness is unrivalled among his kind The deer, from which the musk is taken, is larger than the fox, and his coat is rough He shows two tusks and protuberances in place of horns They are common in the northern mountains The Yāk approximates to the domestic cow but of its

[14] Lions are mentioned, according to Lassen, in the oldest Indian writings They have now nearly disappeared, as they have from Persia, Syria, Asia Minor and Macedonia Alexander found them in the Eastern Panjab Lassen supposes the tiger to have advanced as the lion disappeared The Indian hounds were famous and a Babylonian satrap had so many that four villages were specially taxed for their maintenance They were considered worthy to be presented to Alexander the Great by king Sopeithes See Lassen's note on this

The winged cat is probably the flying squirrel which Mr Routledge informs me is called by the natives *urti billi*

Sardul in Sanskrit signifies a tiger, but here is perhaps meant some species of wild dog which in packs of 6 or 7 will hunt down the fiercest game

tail is made the kutās[15] or fringed tassel, and many they join together. There is also the civet cat.

The *Shārak*[16] is an astonishing talker, and listeners would not distinguish its tones from human speech.

The *Mynah*[17] is twice the size of the *Shārak*, with glossy black plumage, but with the bill, wattles and tail-coverts yellow. It imitates the human voice and speaks with great distinctness

Parrots are of different colours, red, white and green and talk like human beings At the present time, under His Majesty's patronage, animals of all kinds from Persia, Turkestān, and Kashmir whether game or other, have been brought together to the wonderment of beholders.

The *Koel,*[18] is like a mynah, jet black with crimson irides and a long tail Romance sings of its loves as of those of the bulbul.

The *Papihā,*[19] is smaller than the Koel, with a shorter and slenderer tail. Its love is chanted in story It is in full song in the beginning of the rainy season and has a peculiar

[15] See Vol II, p 172, n 2, Vuller distinctly (*Lexicon*) names the Gão Kutās as the Yāk Tibetanas or Bos grunniens

[16] In Sansk *Shārika*, Hind *Shārik*, *Sārik* or *Sārak* In Bengal the word is written and pronounced *Sālik* and applied to the common Mynah, the Acridotheres tristis, which is occasionally a fine talker

[17] Eulabes intermedia, Jerdon The Nepal Hill Mynah, found also in Assam, and about the Chittagong tracts, more or less with these characteristics There are various species not easily distinguished by the inexpert

[18] Eudynamys Orientalis, Jerdon The Cuculus according to Linnæus It is well-known throughout India Its name is from its cry of *koil-koil* which increases in volume of sound as it goes on The female lays its eggs in the nest of the common crow, generally only one and sometimes destroys the eggs of the crow at the time of depositing her own The crows appear to be aware of the fact when too late and often pursue these cuckoos with great fury

[19] Coccystes Melanoleucos, Jerdon The piedchested cuckoo It is found all over India, and is above of a uniform black with a greenish gloss Jerdon unromantically describes it as very noisy with a high pitched metallic note, which would appear highly calculated to reopen any old wounds or cause a fresh one. It is best known in Hindu poetry under the name of *Chātak*.

note and its plaintive strain is heard oftenest at night, and makes love's unhealed wounds bleed anew. It is from its note that the word *piu* is taken, which in Hindi signifies 'beloved'.

The *Hāril*[20] has green plumage with a white bill and crimson irides, smaller than the ordinary pigeon. It never settles upon the ground and when it alights to drink, it carries with it a twig which it keeps beneath its feet till its thirst is quenched.

The *Baya*[21] is like a wild sparrow but yellow. It is extremely intelligent, obedient and docile. It will take small coins from the hand and bring them to its master and will come to a call from a long distance. Its nests are so ingeniously constructed as to defy the rivalry of clever artificers.

The astonishing feats which the animals of this country can perform and their beautiful variety of colouring is beyond the power of my inexperience to describe. Former romancers have related stories in abundance of their extraordinary characteristics, but the writer of this work mentions nothing that he has not himself seen or heard from accurate observers.

I write of things within my ken,
Nor tell a twice-told tale again.

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[20] Also *Hariyāl*, the Crocopus Phœnicopterus, or Bengal Green Pigeon, (Jerdon). The text is evidently in error, omitting the negative before the word 'settles', which stultifies the sense of what follows.

[21] Ploceus baya or common weaver-bird. Its long retort-shaped nest is a familiar sight in India. Jerdon says that it can be taught to pick up rings or such like articles dropped down a well or carry a note on a given signal. Mr Blyth has seen it fire off a miniature cannon and apply the match five or six times before the powder ignited, which it finally did with a report loud enough to frighten all the crows in the neighbourhood, while the little bird remained perched on the gun without moving. In their breeding plumage, the old males have the crown of the head yellow, the rest of the upper plumage with the wings and tail, dull brown, edged with pale fulvous brown, the breast is bright yellow, but in the younger, pale rusty, while the females and the males in winter dress totally want the yellow head, the crown being brown with dark streaks.

Weights and Measures.

Measures [22]

	6 Atoms	=	1 *Márichi.*
	6 *Marichi*	=	1 *Khardal,* (Brassica nigra).
	3 *Khardal*	=	1 *Sarshaf,* (Brassica juncea)
	8 *Sarshaf*	=	1 Barley corn
	4 Barley corns	=	1 Surkh (Abrus precatorius).
	6 *Surḳh*	=	1 *Māshah.*
	4 *Māshah*	=	1 *Tānḳ*
	2 *Tānḳ*	=	1 *Kaul.*
	2 *Kaul*	=	1 *Tolchah.*
	2 *Tolchah*	=	1 *Suḳti*
[60]	2 *Suḳti*	=	1 *Pal.*
	2 *Pal*	=	Palm of the hand
	2 Palms	=	1 *Anjali,* (two hands joined with the [palms hollowed.
	2 *Anjali*	=	1 *Mānika.*
	2 *Mānika*	=	1 *Prastha*
	4 *Prastha*	=	1 *Adhaka*
	4 *Adhaka*	=	1 *Drona*
	2 *Drona*	=	1 Surpa
	2 Surpa	=	1 Khāri

The *Khāri* of the present day is three times this measure

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[22] See Vol 1, p 16, n and p 36, for some of these measures and the weights that follow The 15th Chapter of Albiruni deals with the metrology of the Hindus and may be compared with these measures I append a very valuable note by Dr Prain, Curator of the Herbarium, Royal Botanical Gardens, Calcutta, on the distinction between the kinds of mustard called 'Khardal' and 'Sarshaf' in the text and which remarkably confirms by actual experiment the accuracy of the weights To Dr King, the distinguished Superintendent of the Gardens, to whom I have already expressed my many obligations in the 2nd Vol of the work, I am again indebted for the learned co-operation of Dr. Prain

"Khardal" and "Sarshaf" are both names that are applied to BLACK-MUSTARD (BRASSICA NIGRA)

The former name is, *Watt* says, (in *Dict Econ Prod.* I, 521)

JEWELLER'S WEIGHTS.

These are based on the *Tānk* and the *Surkh*. A Tānk is equal to twenty-four *Surkh*, and the ordinary Miskāl is two *Surkh* more. The *Surkh* is divided into twenty parts, each part being termed a *biswah* Formerly two and a half *biswah* were reckoned to one rice-grain, but the grains of that time were larger His Majesty's foresight and sagacity have adjusted the proportion of two *biswah* to the grain Each *Surkh* was equal to ten rice-grains. His Majesty in his wisdom directed that the grains should be made of the cat's eye stone and thus obviated the defect of currency. The standard weights kept ready for use are the following the *biswah*, the rice-grain, ¼ and ½ of *Surkh*, 2 *Surkh*, 3 *Surkh*, 6 *Surkh* (which is ¼ of a Tānk), ½, 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, and 50 Tānk Any other gradations may be compounded of these weights,

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applied, with a qualification, to WHITE MUSTARD, the latter apparently is not

There is little doubt that by the lower unit of the two (KHARDAL) the seed of Black or true mustard is meant

The question is as to the identity of the other unit

Had 'Sarshaf' been applied to both and 'Khardal" restricted to black mustard, one would have felt inclined to say that white mustard (*Sinapis alba*) was intended But it must be remembered that white mustard is an uncommon plant in Asia, and that Boissier only speaks of it as a plant of waste places and groves in Greece, Palestine and Taurus, (not even admitting it as a Persian species) and that its seeds, though much larger than those of *B. nigra*, do not suit the conditions required better than those of another species to be mentioned immediately This is *Brassica juncea*—the well-known Indian mustard or *Rāi* which is cultivated in Persia, as it is in India, for its oil The vernacular names given by Watt do not include 'Khardal' alone or qualified, but apparently the "Sarshaf" appears (e.g., in the Bengali name "Rāi Sarisha") and this, therefore, seems to be the species that best suits the conditions, for *Abul Fazl* would be most probably referring to a well-known and common plant by his second word

As regards the physical conditions, *Rai* seeds seem to suit very well, so far as the Calcutta Herbarium material goes For in weighing 3 ripe seeds of *Brassica nigra* from Madeira against one ripe seed of India *Brassica juncea*, the scale shows very close approximation in weight, and 8 ripe seeds of *Brassica juncea* from India exactly balance a ripe grain of barley from Afghanistan, though a ripe barley-corn from Europe outweighs them.

and for the imperial service, weights of cat's eye up to 140 Tānks have been made of such brilliancy that they cannot be distinguished from gems

Banker's Weights

These are based on the *Tolchah*, the *Māshah*, and the *Surkh*

Formerly 6 now 7½ rice-grains	=	1 *Surkh*
8 *Surkh*	=	1 *Māshah*
12 *Māshah*	=	1 *Tolchah*

The ordinary weights in use are ½, 1, and 4 *Surkh* 1, 2, 4, 6, *Māshah* 1, 2, 5, 10, 20, 50, 100, 200, 500 *Tolchah* But in the imperial Exchequer, the gradations of weight kept ready are very numerous

Other Trade-weights

Formerly in Hindustān, the *ser* weighed 18 and in some places 22 *dām*. In the beginning of His Majesty's reign it was current at 28 and is now fixed at 30, each *dām* being 5 *Tānk*. In the transactions in coral and camphor the dām was reckoned at 5½ *tānk*, but the price of these articles having fallen, it is valued at five only. The weights in ordinary use are ⅛, ¼, ½ of a *ser*; 1, 2, 5, 10 *ser*; ½, 1 *man* which consists of 40 *ser*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LEARNING OF THE HINDUS

[*Editor's explanation*—Abul Fazl wrote his *Ain-i-Akbari* to serve as a popular summary of or general introduction to Hindu philosophy and science for the benefit of the Muslims, and not as a help to a deeper study In a work of this type it is useless to reprint in 1947, Col Jarrett's long notes and quotations (made in 1895) from works on Hindu philosophy by the earliest Orientalists and his parallels from Muslim philosophy, because his authorities have long been superseded by the works of more modern scholars, and these latter books can be easily consulted in our libraries, while the obsolete works cited by Jarrett are now extremely rare Moreover, highly specialised and erudite monographs on the different branches of Hindu learning are now easily available, and the student wishing to follow the subject up further will be much better helped and more correctly guided by references to these modern special treatises than by the mere extracts from obsolete books which Jarrett gave in the 1st edition of his translation I have therefore omitted most of his lengthy notes and quotations The modern student of the subject is referred to the authoritative histories of Hindu philosophy by Radhakrishnan and S N Das Gupta, the Grundriss monographs, and (for a shorter study) to the two best Encyclopædias, the *Encyclopædia of Islam* and Dr Hastings' *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*. Jadunath Sarkar.]

Throughout the wide extent of Hindustan there are three hundred and sixty systems of philosophy and conduct By such means is the warfare with the malice of the spirit carried on, and the hand of violence extended against the deceits of our internal foes The desire unto evil leadeth to perdition

and the worship of the Lord exalteth the heart. The writer of his work has mixed with many of the leaders of thought and has made himself acquainted to some extent with the discussions of the different schools A considerable body do not rise beyond the experience of sight and hearing. They consider argument as idle discussion and accept no proof other than tradition of the past. Another school profess acceptance of demonstration, but from interior blindness remove not the rust of doubt Another sect urge on the swift and light-paced dromedary of vision to the halting-place of truth in some questions, and from self-esteem imagine that they have likewise attained the same goal in others And yet another body submit their intellects to those who affect stoicism and indifference, and in pursuit of their desire, lend to what is not the deceptive gloss of what is Volumes would not contain the full tale of these Who thinks to break his fast at the board of the parasite? But for the benefit of real seekers of knowledge, I here set down the series of fundamental systems which may be considered as nine in number and present the doctrines of each without discussion of their merits It is my hope that inquirers may carefully study them and compare them with the principles of the Platonists, the Peripatetics, the Sufis and dogmatic theologians, and removing the obstructions of prejudice, seek alone for demonstration, and putting aside the estrangements of ignorance, exercise scrutiny with caution

In this country there are eight sects who professedly teach the doctrines of the emanation of the world, of a life to come, of the essence and attributes of the verities that underlie superior and inferior cosmic phenomena, and the ceremonial and modes of worship and the forms of monarchical government both visible and symbolic : the ninth denies the existence of God and rejects the belief in a beginning or end of existence. Each of these have their special doctrines and rules of conduct and an ample nomenclature, but the

system is that of the Greeks before the time of Aristotle Formerly they wrote with an iron style on the leaves of the palm and the *tuz,* but now on paper, and from left to right. The leaves are kept separate and it is not the practice to stitch them together Their mystic idealism enlightens the understanding and invigorates the soul But how shall I proceed? for my heart inclines from speech to silence Time after time, the ordinary subjects of knowledge, sinking deep into my mind oppress me to use true science, by which stair the soul might rise to insight into truth, as a means to procure rank and wealth, and again, at times, my understanding is luminously inspired not to make bread-winning and pencraft the end of knowledge The searcher after a formula is unable to express it, of if discovered, the mind suffices not for its full cognition For this reason, the tongue of speech adheres to the palate of silence and the head of thought sinks into the collar of depression, although it is said that he whose leisure is undisturbed, may in stillness be inspired to eloquence and the lover of taciturnity find voice though the inspired himself shall be dumb But in truth to sully the tongue with utterance is to expose oneself to error My own spirit is weary with discussion and my tongue oppressed by declaiming I know not if this be lassitude of the disposition or the first revelation of truth, whether darkness overshadow my path with confusion or the leader of the caravan on this long journey be not yet arrived Speech is a beverage filled with poison, and silence is a desert of sweet waters, the hidden source whereof flows from the possessors of truth. I have taken no quarry better than prayer and have seen no lamp brighter than silence If my state were not one of such perplexity, and my mind not so averse from lengthened discussion, I would expound the philosophy of the Hindus after the systems of the Greeks, but as it is, in accordance with my design, I here set down what befits the scope of this work and my leisure permits.

Description of the Nine Schools

Naiyāyika is one who is versed in the Nyāya philosophy *Vaiseshika* treats likewise of philosophy and its professors will be later on noticed *Vedānti* is one who is conversant with the Vedānta System *Mimāmsaka* is a follower of the Mimāmsā philosophy *Sānkhya, Pātanjala, Jaina, Bauddha, Nāstika* Each of these is distinct in its doctrine and their several principles will be hereafter explained The Brahmans consider the last three as heretical and they admit no philosophical systems beyond the first six which they term *shaddarsana,* that is, the six modes of knowledge The *Nyāya* and *Vaiseshika* agree in many points, as do the *Vedānta* and *Mimāmsā,* and the *Sānkhya* and the *Pātanjala*

Nyāya. The founder of this school was the sage Gautama It comprises within its field, physiology, theology, mathematics, logic and dialectics Its followers hold the Supreme Being to be exempt from plurality, neither begotten nor begetting, incorporeal and free from all defect. He is without beginning as without end, the Creator, the Preserver, and they regard Him as pure Spirit but they assert that he created a bodily form and united Himself thereto in a determinate manner , and as the body is capable of action through its union with the soul, so does this corporeal form energize in union with the Deity without sullying the robe of its inviolable sanctity. This doctrine is akin to that of the Christians The appellations of divinity are conceded to it, but it is not believed to be from all eternity. The Creator of the world, through the instrumentality of this Being, revealed His words unto men, and this revelation they call *Veda* It [63] consists of upwards of one hundred thousand verses (*sloka*) each of which comprises four feet (*charana*) each foot being of not less than eight or more than twenty-six letters (*Akshara*) In this book it does not exceed twenty An *akshara* consists of either one or two letters if of two, the last is quiescent. A holy man

named Vyāsa divided this book into four parts to each of which he assigned a separate name, *viz* , the Rigveda, the Yajurveda, the Samaveda and the Atharvaveda These four are considered divine books Some assert that the First Being had four mouths from each of which a Book issued Every Brahma who appears, wonderful to relate, delivers the same letters and words without diminution or addition

They maintain that God is the absolute Efficient Cause and that the works of men are produced by these two sources of causation, (*viz* , God and Brahma) The moral distinctions of good and evil in actions are deduced from the divine books They believe in hell and heaven The former they term *Naraka* and locate it in the lower region The latter is called *Svarga* and is assigned to the celestial region They do not believe in a perpetual duration of existence in either paradise or hell, but that men in the measure of their evil deeds may descend into hell and receive condign punishment, and thence coming forth assume other bodies, and for their good works obtain happiness in heaven, and again issuing from it, return into new forms · thus they will come and go until they have fully received the recompense or punishment of their former deeds, after which freed from the necessity of these two states, they will be liberated from joy and sorrow as will be hereafter related

Some believe that portions of the world are from eternity and that some are created, as will be afterwards mentioned They assign eight attributes to the Deity which they call accidents 1 *Gyāna*, omniscience, by which He knows the future and the past, all that is secret or manifest, in whole and in part, and ignorance and forgetfulness cannot approach Him 2 *Ichchhā*, will. All things at His pleasure are created or fall into nothingness 3 *Prayatna*, providential order and the due procession of causes so that existence and non-existence may have their realisation. 4. *Sankhyā*, numerical series, and this is of three kinds, unity, duality and excess

of these. The first named is an attribute of the Almighty. 5 *Pramāna*, extent, and this is of four kinds as will be hereinafter mentioned. As they believe God to be omnipresent, his extent must be infinite [64] 6 *Prithaktva*, severalty and individuality As of Sankhya, this is of three kinds, the first being a Divine attribute 7 *Samyoga*, co-inherence, because all things unite in Him. 8 *Vi-bhāga*, disjunction The last six of these are accounted to have been from all eternity

Sixteen subjects called predicaments (*padārtha*),[1] are discussed by this system and these topics comprise all the objects of thought Although it does not strictly proceed beyond the second, nor, indeed, beyond its subordinate classification of *Artha*, yet a few details are here set down for information.

The Sixteen Predicaments

1 Pramāna	2 Prameya	3 Sansaya	4 Prayojana
5 Drishtānta	6 Siddhānta	7 Avayava	8 Tarka
9 Nirnaya	10 Vāda	11 Jalpa	12 Vitāndā
13 Hetvābhāsa	14 Chhala	15 Jāti	16 Nigraha-sthāna

The First Predicament, *Pramāna* (proof), is of four kinds 1 *Pratyaksha*, (perception) by the six perfect senses, *viz*, the five external senses together with *manas* which will be hereafter explained 2 *Anumāna*, inference 3 *Upamāna*, resemblance and analogy 4 *Sabda*, tradition of trustworthy and pious men These four are held to embrace a considerable extent of knowledge

[1] This term is translated by Colebrooke indifferently as category or predicament, and by Dr Roer as Category Davies in his Hindu Philosophy, uses predicaments and categories as synonymous (p 127) in his rendering of *padārtha* I have distinguished these sixteen subjects as predicaments to avoid confusing the numbers with the subordinate categories given by Abul Fazl under the heading of *artha*, the 4th classification of the second predicament, *prameya*

The Second Predicament. *Prameya* signifies the objects of thought, and this which is beyond the reach of numeration, is yet classed under twelve heads. 1 *Atman* 2 *Sarira.* 3 *Indriya* 4 *Artha.* 5. *Buddhi* [65] 6 *Manas.* 7 *Pravritti* 8 *Dosha* 9. *Pretyabhāva* 10. *Phala.* 11 *Duhkha* 12 *Apavarga*

I *Atman*, soul, is a subtile, all-pervading substance which is the seat of the understanding, and it is of two kinds The first kind is *Jivātman* (the vital principle), which vivifies human bodies and the animal and vegetable creation Each body is supposed to be informed by a distinct spirit whose perceptions, through the senses and operations of the intellect, can be exercised only in conjunction with the substance *manas*[2] to be subsequently explained The second kind is *Paramātman*, the Supreme Soul, which they hold to be One and from all eternity Its intellectual cognitions are independent of the operation of *manas*

II *Sarira*, body, is also of two kinds *Yoni-ja* (uterine), sexually produced *Ayoni-ja*, that which is not so produced. The first mentioned has two further subdivisions, *viz*, *jarāyu-ja*, viviparous, and *anda-ja*, oviparous, and both are formed of the five elements The latter, *ayoni-ja*, has four subdivisions 1 *Pārthiva*, formed of earth, 2 *Apya*, formed of water, 3 *Taijasa* of fire 4 *Vāyaviya*, of air

III *Indriya*,[3] signifies the five organs of sense together with *Manas* (the internal organ), a subtile substance intimately connected with the cone-shaped human heart It is the source

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[2] The distinction between the sensitive material organ *manas* and the rational conscious soul *jivātman* is the *thumos* and *phren*, of Pythagoras, one perishing with the body, the other immortal, v Colebrooke, *Essays*, I, 442 For the Hindu conception of the mind, see Hastings, *Encyclo* i 137 (*mind*), ii 824-831 (*brain and mind*), i 774-778 (*body* and *mind*), ii 773 (*body* and future life) The Nyāya system in *ibid* 442 and the Atomic theory in ii 199-201 [J S]

[3] These are the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue and the skin, the five organs of action being the voice, the hands, the feet, the arms and the organs of generation *Manas* or mind, is the

of perception, and it is by its action, they consider, that a man roams in imagination through distant countries In contradistinction to *Atman*, it is not considered to be all-pervading, but the Mimāmsa School maintain that it possesses this quality

IV *Artha* (objects of sense). Under this head are seven categories [66] 1 *Dravya* 2 *Guna*. 3 *Karman* 4 *Sāmānya* 5 *Visesha* 6 *Samavāya* 7 *Abhāva*

The first signifies substance,[4] which they conceive to be all-pervading and eternal, while with regard to the four elements, its indivisible atoms only are held to be eternal in duration (It is subdivided into) *Atman*, *Manas*, *Akāsa*, the four elements, *kāla* and *dis*

The first two have been already mentioned The third is a subtile fluid, all-pervading, and has the quality of sound The four elements are recognised after the system of the Greeks, but air is regarded as the highest in order *Kāla*

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organ of the bodily senses By union with the external senses it produces knowledge of exterior objects Its office is to separate the sensations and to present them singly to the soul, since the soul does not receive more than one perception at the same instant The *Manas* is minutely small as an atom for otherwise it might come into connection with many things or sensations at one time It is eternal and distinct both from soul and body Davies, *Hind Phil*, pp 21, 122

[4] This first category *dravya* (substance) is subdivided by Davies into nine divisions 1 Earth (*prithivi*), 2 water (*āpas*), 3 light (*tejas*), 4 air (*vāyu*), 5 Ether (*akāsa*), 6 time (*kāla*), 7 space (*dis*), 8 Soul (*ātman*), 9 mind (*manas*), p 128

Substance is defined by Kanāda to be the substrate of qualities and actions and possessing intimate causality This is explained in the commentary of Bhāsha Parichcheda to be the substrate of qualities either in the relation of intimate union (*Samavāya Sambandha*) or in the relation of antecedent negation (*Prāgabhāva*) that is, of future existence The latter definition is to obviate an objection which may be raised from the condition of substances at the time of their production When substances are produced, they have, according to the Nyāya, no qualities If they have no qualities, they are no substances according to the definition that substances are the substrate of qualities By the second definition that they are substrates of qualities either in the relation of intimate union, or of future existence this objection is removed *Categories of the Nyāya Philosophy* Dr E Roer, p 3

time,[5] is a substance impalpable and universal *Dis*, space, has the same character

Attributes are of the following six kinds (1) *Karman*, action, the third category, is divided into five varieties, progressive action, upward and downward action, contraction and dilatation, and is non-eternal. (2) The fourth category is *Sāmānya*,[6] community, and is one, expresses existence, and denotes qualities. Its generic character is eternal, and it resides in substance, quality, and action. It is also called *Jāti Sāmānya* (generic community) and secondly *Upādhi* (discriminative or specific) *Sāmānya*, it has an objective existence, having qualities common to all objects

(3) The fifth category *Visesha*,[7] particularity, is an attribute, being of its own essence dissociated from everything, has a separate resting-place, and is based only upon eternal matter *Prithaktva*, individuality, is, on the other hand, a quality, and although it implies disjunction, it does not do so to the same degree, and is not in the same manner distinguished

(4) The sixth category, *Samavāya*, denotes the co-inherence of five entities with their correlatives, such as (1) movement and its author, (2) quality and substance, (3) matter

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[5] Time is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence other than that of place It is marked by association of objects with the sun's revolutions Space is inferred from the relation of priority and subsequence other than that of time It is deduced from the notion of *here* and *there* Davies, p 130

[6] Davies' definition is that it expresses only existence in its highest degree, and is the source of our notion of genus It denotes also species as indicating a class, these genera and species having a real objective existence

[7] The difference between this and the following term is explained as follows by Prof Cowell, " Particularity is the individuality which characterises simple substances,—it is 'their ultimate, and not further explicable difference' All compound substances from jars down to the combination of two atoms, are mutually separated by the difference of their component parts, but particularity is the only mutual difference of atoms This difference is differenced through itself only " *Siddh-Muktav*. Colebrooke I n p 308

and the thing made, as clay and the vessel of clay, yarn and and its cloth, (4) the whole and its component parts, (5) particularity and eternal matter

Strangely enough they regard *Samavāya*[8] as one and eternal This school classes co-inherence under three heads. The first as mentioned above, and if it occurs between two substances, it is termed *Samyoga*, simple conjunction, as is stated in the mention of qualities, and they consider it to possess plurality Secondly, the connection of the immaterial with the material, as the soul with the body This they call *Svarupa*, natural form

(5) The seventh category is *abhāva*, privation or negation, and is of two kinds *Samsargābhāva* universal and *anyonyābhāva*, mutual negation between two things, as one might say "this is not that" This reciprocal negation must be one in time and place

The first kind includes three species (1), *prāgabhāva*, antecedent negation, [67] (2), *pradhanasābhāva*, emergent negation, (3), *atyantābhāva*, absolute negation, that is a negation of what is not one in place, while one in time as, "Zayd standing on the bank of the river, is lost in the desert"

(6) Attributes that do not come under these last five categories are qualities[9] and termed *guna*, (second category)

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[8] Numerically it is one, and then it is the same *Samavāya* that connects a jar, and its colour in India, and another jar &c, in Europe, and that connected Adam's soul with its qualities, and that of the reader s with its own They affirm that substance may want qualities altogether as the latter are not produced till after the production of the substances themselves, so that a jar, when first produced, may be devoid of colour, smell, taste and tangibility, and in the next moment become endowed with them A whole has no qualities, whereas its parts have, by the relation called *Samavāya* Smoke is said to reside in a place by relation of *Samyoga* and in its parts by *Samavāya* Therefore by asserting that whenever there is smoke there is fire, they contradict it by this distinction, for smoke, besides residing in a given place by *Samyoga*, resides by *Samavāya*, in its own parts, where fire is not V Dr Fitz-Edward Hall, p 94-5

[9] Quality is closely united with substance, not, however, as an intimate cause of it, nor consisting in motion, but common not a

of which there are twenty-four varieties (1), *Rupa*, colour (or form) of which five are elementary, namely, red, yellow, blue, black, white, the other colours being compounded of these; (2), *Rasa*, savour. This is of six kinds, sweet, bitter, acid, saline pungent and astringent; (3), *Gandha*, odour; (4), *Sparsa*, tangibility, that is the perception of touch which is of three kinds, cold, hot, and temperate, (5), *Sankhyā*, number which is also of three kinds, unity, duality, and plurality, (6), *Parimāna*, quantity, which is of four kinds, (α) *anu*, atomic, (β) *hrasva*,[10] the measure of two atoms, also called *dvy-anuka*, (γ) *dirgha*, the measure of three or more atoms, ( ) *mahat*, (vast) the measure of the ethereal firmament and the like; (7), *Prithaktva*, individuality, distinguishes one of two things from the other It is in itself common to all, and is not defined in the same manner as *visesha* It is of three kinds, as for instance, "one is unlike that", or "two or more are unlike it", (8), *Samyoga*, is the conjunction of two substances, eternal and non-eternal, which are united by a mutual attraction They do not consider it to be one, like *samavāya*, (9), *Vibhāga*, disjunction, (10), *Purvatva*, priority in time and place, (11), *Aparatva*, posteriority, (12), *Buddhi*, intellect, (13), *Sukha*, pleasure, (14) *Duhkha*, pain, (15), *Ichchhā*, desire, (16), *Dvesha*, aversion, (17), *Prayatna*, volition or effort; (18), *Gurutva*, *gravity* [68] Lightness is not held to be quality, but the negation of gravity (19), *Dravatva*, fluidity, (20), *Sneha*, viscidity, (21) *Sanskāra*, reproduction (of thought) which is of three kinds. (α) *Vega* (*Sanskāra*) (velocity)[11] a quality which springs from mobility and

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genus, yet appertaining to one It is independent of conjunction and disjunction, not the cause of them, nor itself endued with qualities Colebrooke, *Essays*, I 296

[10] This word in Sanskrit signifies, less, little, small, short, and in grammar a short vowel *Dvy-anuka*, is transliterated by Abul Fazl, *dinkua* *Dirgha* signifies the quantity of a long vowel

[11] Rajendralāla Mitra in his translation of the Yogas of Patañjali thus expresses himself:—"The most important word in the aphorism is Sanskāra which has unfortunately not been

produces motion, like the flight of an arrow from the bow, for according to this school, motion is destroyed in the third moment after its production, and hence this quality must of necessity be called into action and produce moment (β) (*Bhāvanā*) *Sanskāra* thinking, is a special characteristic of the reasoning faculty, and since knowledge does not endure in the mind beyond the space of three moments of time, recourse to this quality is imperative, and through the operation of the intellect, analogy, induction or intuition becomes the effective cause of the recollection of what has passed from the mind (γ) *Sthitisthāpaka*, elasticity, that is the resilience of what is bent to the contrary direction (22), *dharma*,[12] merit, or the state of rectitude in the intelligent soul (23), *adharma*, demerit This school believes that souls through these two qualities, assume various bodily forms, and receive their due recompense in sorrow or joy The first have their portion in Paradise the second, in hell, and the world of death is the ultimate end of both (24), *sabda*, sound

The rational soul is distinguished by fourteen qualities. (1) intellect, (2) pleasure, (3) pain, (4) desire, (5) aversion, (6) effort, (7) merit, (8) demerit, (9) thinking, (10) number, (11) quantity, (12) individuality, (13) conjunction, (14) disjunction The first nine are inseparable from it, while number (*viz*, unity), quantity, individuality, conjunction, dis-

explained in the commentary of Bhoja or in the Pātanjala Bhāshya In ordinary Sanskrit it has many meanings In the Nyāya it occurs in three different senses, velocity (*vega*) thinking (*bhāvanā*) and elasticity (*sthitisthāpaka*) Adverting to the second meaning the Bhāshā Parichcheda says 'Sanskāra, called thinking (*bhāvanā*) resides in sentient beings and is imperceptible to the senses

[12] The commentators, who are generally under a Vedantic influence, explain virtue, *dharma*, as including humanity, benevolence, acts of restraint (*yama*) and of obligation (*niyama*) Acts of restraint, according to Gandapāda, *are restraint of cruelty, falsehood, dishonesty, incontinence and avarice! Acts of obligation are purification, contentment, religious austerities, sacred study and divine worship* Davies p 57

junction, and sound, are referrible to ether. Sound is its chief characteristic. With the exception of sound, these five are qualities of time and space, and the eight formed by these four together, with priority, posteriority and velocity are qualities of *manas* —Tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority and velocity are the nine accidents of air Colour, tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, fluidity, velocity, are the eleven qualities of light (fire), and motion and tangibility, are its characteristics Colour, taste, tangibility, number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity, fluidity, viscidity and velocity are the fourteen qualities of water Motion, viscidity, and tangibility are its characteristics The same fourteen are likewise those of earth, substituting for viscidity odour which abides in earth alone

[69] Eternal qualities Of these, six characterise the deity, *viz* , intellect, desire, effort (one), number (*i e* , unity), vastness of quantity (one), and individuality Three qualities connote the vital principle, (*jivātman*), the mind (*manas*) and ether, time and space, *viz.*, quantity (one), number (unity), individuality. Four belong to the indivisible atoms of air, tangibility (one), number, quantity (one), individuality Five to atoms of light (fire), colour, tangibility (one), number, quantity (one), individuality. Nine to those of water, *viz* , colour, savour, tangibility, viscidity (one), number, quantity (one), individuality, gravity, and fluidity Four to those of earth, *viz* , number (unity), quantity (one), individuality, and gravity They affirm that qualities, in their non-eternal (transitory) aspects, including desire, effort, and intellect, are sited in other than the Deity, and pleasure, pain, aversion and sound are produced in one moment of time, do not endure to the second, and are lost in the third, and the rest are not of great length of permanence.

Eight qualities are universal: number, quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, posteriority, gravity. Four are incident to all substances: namely, conjunction, disjunction, number other than unity, and individuality likewise not single. Those that alone are united in *manas*, are held to be intellect, pleasure, pain, desire, aversion, and effort. Such as are cognisable by inference are merit, demerit, thinking and gravity.

This much will suffice for example from among a multiplicity of division of these qualities.

Having now discussed the various categories of *artha*, I come to the fifth classification of *Prameya*, namely,

V. *Buddhi*[13] (intellect). Although it has been mentioned under the second category (*guna*) of *artha*, a somewhat more extended explanation will be of service. It is two-fold: (1) *anubhava*, (notion or concept), which is produced by means of the four kinds of proof,[14] and (2) *smriti*,[15] recollection, which is effected through *bhāvanā sanskāra*, (present consciousness

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[13] In the system of Kapila, *buddhi* is the faculty or organ, by which outward objects are presented to the view of the soul in their proper and definite form, and he assigns to it every quality or state that is connected with the active life as its primary seat and the first emanation of Nature (Prakriti). Davies, p. 57.

[14] These are *pratyaksha* (perception), *anumāna* (inference), *upāmāna* (analogy) and *sabda* (verbal testimony). To these four kinds of proof of the Nyāya or logical school, the Vedantic adds *arthāpatti* (presumption) an informal kind of inference, as, "Devadatta does not eat by day and yet is fat, it is presumed therefore that he eats by night", and *abhāva* (non-existence), a method of proof from an impossibility, or a '*reductio ad absurdum*' as, "there can be no flowers in the sky". Davies, p. 24.

[15] *Smriti* signifies also tradition, the institutes of law as opposed to *sruti*, the Veda or revelation. The laws of the Hindus, civil and religious, are believed by them to be founded on revelation, of which the Vedas are preserved in the very words. Another portion has been preserved by inspired writers who having revelations present to their memory, have recorded holy precepts for which divine sanction is presume. The latter is *smriti*, recollection, (remembered law), in contradistinction to *sruti*, audition, revealed law. Colebrooke.

of past ideas). *Anubhava* is of two kinds, a right notion or a wrong one A wrong notion, *i e* (one not derived from proof) is threefold, namely, *sansaya*, doubt, *viparyaya*, error, and *tarka*, false premises This last is a *padārtha* (predicament) and will be explained in its place

VI. *Manas*,[16] although referred to under substance, requires to be mentioned next in order

VII *Pravritti*, activity, or employing the mind, tongue and other organs in good and evil works They maintain that four functions are necessary to an outward action, knowing, willing, resolving and bodily motion

VIII *Dosha*, (fault) they assert to be a cause of *prayatna* (effort), and is of three kinds, *rāga*, passion or extreme desire, *dvesha*, aversion, and *moha*, delusion of mind

[70] IX *Pretyabhāva*, (transmigration) signifies life, after death and the union of the soul with the body, followed by death after life and dissolution succeeding connection

X *Phala* (retribution) is the fruit of merit and demerit

XI *Duhkha*, is the opposite of *Sukha*, joy, which is not here introduced, as the pleasures of this world are by them accounted misery.

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[16] Is the first of the internal organs receiving the impression made upon the senses Primordial matter, the *Elci* of the Greeks produced *buddhi* or intellect, from which proceeded *Ahankāra* or egotism, and from this latter proceed the five organs of sense (*indriya*) and the five organs of action, and lastly *Manas*, the receptive or discriminating faculty The tongue is classed as an organ of action, and the faculty of speech is as much sensation as touching or walking The *Manas* has the nature of both classes, being formative or plastic and a sense organ In the Sānkhya system of Kapila, it is not to be confounded with mind or the rational faculty of the soul, but is regarded as a form of matter I refer the reader to Davies' work whence I have taken in scattered notices the substance of the above, and to Colebrooke This dismal philosophy is curious as an intellectual product, the precursor of the ghastly metaphysics of Hartmann and Schopenhauer The Hindu has the merit of originality and a better excuse.

XII. *Apavarga*, (emancipation) is eternal release from pain There are twenty-one varieties of pain, or evil, and these reside in the six organs of sense, the six objects (*vishaya*) of sensation, the six mental apprehensions that proceed from them, the body which is the centre of evil, pleasure itself which is filled with pain, and pain In short, pain signifies all that men are averse from and by which distress occurs. The attainment of that state where these effects disappear, is called *mukti*, or final emancipation, where the soul rests without perception or consciousness, is no longer connected with the body and is delivered from heaven and hell They consider the union of the soul with body which they call *janman* (birth),[17] as the source of pain Its existence is due to merit and demerit, and through its companionship with the soul, it receives the recompense of good and evil The cause of this is *karman* (action), from which proceeds befitting time, or unsuitable deed and pain or pleasure *Yatna* (effort), which is synonymous with *prayatna*, and *pravritti*, activity, produce these consequences, and this in turn results from *rāga* or passion, which springs from *mithyājnāna*,[18] erroneous opinion, originated by *bhāvanā sanskāra*. By mortification of spirit and body and by good works, the means of perfect knowledge are secured, resulting in the attainment of perfected capacities Ignorance is destroyed, true knowledge acquired, and the flux and reflux of existence vanish for ever

Some say that when the intelligence attains its highest illumination, error and ignorance are annihilated and with them *rāga* and *dvesha*, that is passion and aversion depart,

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[17] In every form of earthly life, the soul is united to its own peculiar vehicle or body, but is not blended with it but enveloped by it By this is meant, not the gross material body which perishes at each migration, but the *linga*, the subtle *umbra* or sheath formed from the substance of the three internal organs, and the finer elements of matter (*tanmātra*) For Body and Soul, see Hastings' *Encyclo*, xi 742-744 [J S]

[18] *Mithyā-jnāna* is used to signify that special misapprehension which estops release from the world

and hence *pravritti*, activity, is extirpated, and by its disappearance *janman* (birth), is no more, and pain and grief are dissolved and *mukti* brings everlasting bliss Another opinion is that *tattvajnāna*, true knowledge, dispels *mithyājnāna*, or error, which causes the subversion of desire, which overwhelms *prayatna*. By its fall *karman* (action) is subverted and overturns with it *dharma* and *adharma* (merit and demerit) *Janman* (birth), thus, is swept away carrying with it *duhkha* (pain) in its overthrow. The Nyāya school assert that when the material body perishes, knowledge dies with it Perfect knowledge depends upon three conditions (1) *sravana*, hearing, and studying the Vedas and the existing traditions of the sages, and this cannot be attained except by the aid of one who has travelled this road · [71] (2) *manana*, consideration, by which the sacred books and the precepts of the virtuous are when apprehended, studiously illumined by proofs that convince the mind The effect of this study, according to one opinion, issues in a speculation as to the nature of the rational soul and whether it is not apart from all else,[19] (3) *nididhyāsana*, profound contemplation, by frequent reflection and reiterated thought on the objects of contemplation in their entirety, the mind becomes habitually absorbed herein and advancing beyond the objective sensations of sight and deed, becomes the recipient of truth

It is asserted that the contemplation of the rational soul may be so continuous as not to be interrupted When these three conditions are fulfilled with diligence and unwavering resolve, a sublime knowledge is attained and liberation secured from pain and pleasure and the fetters of the corpo-

[19] In Kapila's system, the soul is solitary and perfectly distinct from matter and therefore from the modifications the modes of Nature produce It beholds as an *eye-witness*, for insight and cognition are not properties of matter It is *neutral* (*Madhyastha*, lit standing between) "as a wandering ascetic is lonely and unconcerned, while the villagers are being engaged in agriculture" The soul in its regal grandeur, has no part in the inferior life of action It directs as a sovereign but does not work Davies

real state This school professes the doctrine of *Kāyavyuha*, multiplication of bodies.[20]

They maintain that when any of the specially favoured are illumined by the light of this knowledge, and are cognizant of their past existences and future destiny, and know that a course of further transmigration awaits them, and desire to complete it, they receive a special power from the Supreme Being, and in a brief space receive these various forms and endure the pains and pleasures of life with the same spirit and the same intelligence, and when these forms pass away, attain eternal bliss It is also said that all men will[21] arrive at final emancipation, and that though the world is without a beginning, birth and production will eventually cease

The third predicament *Sansaya*, doubt, is three-fold (1), it may arise from the sight of objects with common qualities, as for example, an object may be seen from a distance, and not distinctly, known whether it be a tree or a man, and the like, (2), cause of doubt is likewise (a non-general or special attribute) in regard to a particular object which is separate from the notion of eternal or non-eternal, substance or quality, and the doubt arises whether it be eternal or non-eternal, substance or quality : (3), Cause of doubt lies also in controversy when a subject may be the occasion of contradictory affirmation and denial between two learned disputants

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[20] This subject is touched upon in the fourth chapter of the Yoga aphorisms of Patanjali "When a Yogi, who has a mastery over the cardinal principles, with a view to enjoy at once the fruits of his actions, from the perception of his own superior transcendental powers, wishes to assume many bodies at the same time, whence does he derive many thinking principles" (to vitalize these bodies)? In reply the author says "the created thinking principles (proceed) solely from egoism" That is, that his own consciousness or rather his absolute Ego, (for Fitchte distinguishes between the two) by force of will evolves the power, as fire emits sparks *Vide* Rājendralāla Mitra's translation, p 171-72

[21] A variant, the reading of one MS, has a negative According to the Sānkhya (and Mimāmsa) systems, acquiring knowledge and thus gaining deliverance from contact with matter is the privilege of the few rather than a duty manifest on all See Davies, p 114

The fourth predicament, *Prayojana*, motive, is that which necessarily precedes and produces an effect and is termed causality Of this there are not accounted more than three kinds (1), the presence of efficient conditions and means is termed *nimitta kārana*, or instrumental causality. (2), the material cause is *samavāyi kārana*, intimate or direct causality (3), the indirect or non-intimate causality is called *asamavāyi kārana*.[22] Cause is termed *kārana* and effect *kārya*, and *sāmagri* is total causality, (the aggregate of conditions necessary for the forming of either, a material product or a physical state) This subject is treated in Sanskrit philosophy under the first predicament

[72] The fifth predicament is *Drishtānta*, instance or example, showing invariable connection (between subject and predicate)

The sixth predicament, is *Siddhānta*, dogma or determinate truth.

The seventh predicament is *Avayava*, (members of a) syllogism This consists of five members [23] I *Pratijna*, the

[22] The usual order is the intimate, non intimate and instrumental An instance of the first, is thread from which cloth is made, for the second the conjunction of the threads, for the third, the loom Intimate causality belongs to substances, non-intimate causality to qualities and actions Roer, p 10

[23] The members are these —

1 This hill is fiery
2 For it smokes
3 Whatever smokes is fiery
4 This hill is smoking
5 Therefore it is fiery

or

1 Sound is non-eternal
2 Because it is produced
3 Whatever is produced is non-eternal
4 Sound is produced
5 Therefore it is non-eternal

Some confine the syllogism to three members, either the first three or the last In the latter form it is the syllogism of Aristotle According to Roer, the Nyāya knows only the two first figures of syllogism, and of these only the two moods Barbara and Camestres A complete syllogism is properly termed *nyāya*, the five members or component parts are called *avayava*

proposition, as in the statement, "there is fire in this hill". II. *Hetu*, the concomitant reason supporting the proposition, "for it smokes", by which the presence of fire is apprehended which is the ground for the inference, and this, in regard to the invariable connection (between subject and predicate), is threefold If the necessary connection is affirmative, it is called *kevalānvayin* (concomitancy of affirmatives), and if negative, *kevala-vyatirekin* (concomitancy of negatives), and if both, *anvaya-vyatirekin* (affirmative and negative induction) Of this third kind five members are necessary for a complete syllogism (1) *Paksha sattva*[24] (subject of the conclusion) where the subject to be proved is supposed to be in a given place. (2) *Sapaksha sattva* (similar instance, involving the major term) where the place of the subject and predicate are with certainty known or inferred as smoke and fire in a kitchen hearth (3) *Vipaksha sattva* (negative instance) where the subject and predicate exclude each other as water (and fire) (4) *Abādhita vishayatva*, non-negation of the object of proof (by other proof) (5) *Asatpratipakshatva*, (non-equalisation), where there is no counterbalancing reason proving the negation of what is to be proved In the first classification of *Hetu*, (*kevalānvayin*), the third of these five is absent In the second, (*kevala-vyatirekin*), the second of the five is absent

III *Udhāharana*, the instance or example The subject of a proposition is called *vyāpya* the predicate is the *vyāpaka*,

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[24] These and the following terms are thus rendered in Dr Richard Garbe's translation of Aniruddha's commentary on the Sānkhya Sutras "By means of a syllogism construed in this manner we discern (1), that the invariably concomitated (*vyāpya*) is an attribute of the subject of the conclusion (*paksha-dharmatva*), (2), that the *vyāpya* exists in those things in which the invariable concomitant (*vyāpaka*) undoubtedly exists (*sapaksha-sattva*), (3), that the *vyāpya* is excluded from those things from which the *vyāpaka* is also excluded (*vipakshādvyāvrittih*) (4) that no equally strong reason can be adduced against the reason which proves the proposition (*asatpratipakshatva*), (5), that the *vyāpya* is not such that its object does not exist in the subject of the conclusion (*abādhita-vishayatva*)

and *vyāpti*, pervasion [73] or invariable concomitance, is the mutual relation of the subject and predicate

IV *Upanaya* is the application of the reason to the subject in question

Nigamana is the conclusion Although it lies implicate in the major premiss, it forms the statement in the general proposition and becomes the consequent in the fifth

The eighth predicament *Tarka*, is inadmissible conclusion at variance with proof, that is, the perception of a deduction from wrong premises[25] By its statement the disputant removes the doubt in the relation of subject and predicate For instance to one who denied the existence of fire (in the hill) he would rejoin that without it there could be no smoke, of which fire is the cause

The ninth predicament is *Nirnaya*, (ascertainment), or a certainty of conclusion on the completion of proof

The tenth *Vāda*, (controversy) is the expression of their respective views of a subject by two seekers after knowledge, supported by reasons brought forward with good feeling, and in the interests of truth, allowing neither their several convictions nor self-assertion to influence them Verily such courteous[26] disputants, like the phœnix, move with steps that leave no trace.

The eleventh *Jalpa*, or wrangling, is the debate of disputants contending for victory.

The twelfth is *Vitandā*, objection or cavilling · The object of one disputant being the advancement of what is true and reasonable, and of the other to dispute his statements

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[25] The text is corrupt The words of the *Tarka Sangraha*, are thus translated by Vidyā Sāgara, *Reductio ad absurdum* or Tarka is that which consists in *founding* the pervader (*vyāpya*) (here supposed to be denied) through the allegation of the pervaded (*vyāpaka* here supposed to be taken for granted) As for instance If there were not fire (which you do not grant), there would not be smoke (which you admit there is) V 68

[26] I would read *farohindah* for *farohidah* It is not wisdom nor ingenuity that is rare, but courtesy and good temper.

The thirteenth is *Hetvābhāsa,* fallacy. This is a syllogism with the semblance of a reason, of which there are five kinds. If this predicament were placed in order above *Vāda,* the tenth, or below the three following, it would be more in place.

The fourteenth is *Chhala,* perversion of an adversary's statement through malice, and disputing it

The fifteenth is *Jāti,* futility, or a reply both irrelevant and reprehensible, advanced with speciousness and cavilling. This is of twenty-four kinds

The sixteenth predicament is *Nigrahasthāna,* the confutation of an adversary, and is of twenty-two kinds.

Each of these sixteenth subjects have numerous questions arising out of them, supported by a variety of opinions, arguments and instances

It is believed that whosoever apprehends these sixteen in their integrity, is released from further birth and death, lives in freedom from pleasure and pain, and attains his final end by three degrees of knowledge · *viz,* (1), *uddesha,* (enunciation), by which he distinguishes the name of each of these sixteen predicaments and bears them in memory, [74] (2) *lakshana,* (definition), by which he arrives at their essential truth, (3) *parīkshā* (investigation), by which he ascertains the sufficiency and pertinence of their definition.

This school, though not acknowledging that the world had a beginning, yet believes in its final destruction. This they term *pralaya,* which is of two kinds.

In the first, Brahmā slumbers in the chamber of non-existence, and appears no more, and all created forms perish His absolute cause is the divine will, the completion of a decreed period and the coming of an appointed time When this time arrives, by the will of God, merit and demerit cease to exist, and by the same divine will, the indivisible atoms (of primordial matter) are set in agitation, from which

bhāga,[27] (disjunction), is brought into reality, and *samyoga* (union from contiguity) is dissolved. First the globe of the earth, next fire, followed by air and water are successively destroyed and creation ceases to exist and all souls attain final emancipation This is termed *mahāpralaya* In the second, is the final emancipation of Brahmā, which is called *Khanda-pralaya* (partial dissolution) In this, with the exception of merit and demerit, present consciousness, and action, all else perish At the close of one hundred extraordinary years,[28] of which mention has been made, Brahmā attains this accomplishment of desire. After the lapse of this period, a succeeding Brahmā is born Another opinion is that there are four dissolutions Besides the above two, there is a third when right apprehension is taken up from mankind and this will happen at the close of a cycle of the four ages The fourth is the dissolution of each particular thing which is called its *pralaya,* as when the *manas* first dissolves its connection with the rational soul, and following this, when the union of soul and body is then severed [29]

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[27] Earth according to the Nyaya, is eternal in its atoms, non-eternal in its parts An atom is defined thus an atom is, what exists has no cause and is without beginning and end an atom is contrary to what has a measure Roer, p 14 Colour, taste and the like are said to be eternal, or otherwise according to the substances in which they exist these two being eternal in the atoms of water and light but in other substances have a cause The atomic nature of the mind is inferred from the fact that several objects of knowledge are not perceived by it at once

I believe *vibhāga* is here meant, and the suffix has been omitted by the error of a copyist This is undoubtedly the sense of the passage

[28] The aggregate of the four ages, Krita, Treta, Dwāpara and Kali multiplied by a thousand, constitute a day of Brahmā , his night is of equal duration, and of such days and nights is the year of Brahmā composed One hundred such years constitute his whole life A great *Kalpa,* as distinguished from a minor *Kalpa,* is properly not a day but a life of Brahmā *Vishnu Purāna,* Wilson, pp 23, 25, 6

[29] The following are the four kinds of dissolution as given by the *Vishnu Purāna* 1, *Naimittika* occasional , *Prākritika,*

The (renewed) creation of the world is called *srishti*. Through the volition of the Supreme Being, and after the lapse of ages and at the advent of a special time, merit and demerit recover their sway, and the indivisible atoms of matter are again moved Two atoms first combine this is called *dvy-anuka*, then three *dvy-anukas* unite and are named *try-anuka*, the union of four *dvy-anukas* is termed *chatur-anuka*, and thus they gradually coalesce, till numerous forms are manifested, and contrariwise to their dissolution, they are produced in the following order. air, fire, water, earth, and subsequently, Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahādeva [30] The three last are not apparent to the light of vision but assume shape and are beneficent in their operation From air spring aerial forms which reside in *Vāyuloka*, a [75] sphere above the earth, and the sense of touch and the blowing wind whose energising

elemental, *Atyantika*, absolute, *Nitya*, perpetual The first, also termed the Brahmā dissolution, occurs when the sovereign of the world reclines in sleep In the second, the mundane egg resolves into the primary element from whence it was derived Absolute non-existence of the world, is the absorption of the sage through knowledge into supreme spirit Perpetual destruction is the constant disappearance, day and night, of all that are born *Vishnu Purāna*, 56 The first three kinds are very powerfully described in the 6th book, the fourth chapter of which represents the elemental dissolution in very striking language The third kind, involving the final liberation from existence, is the subject of the 5th Chapter, where the sufferings of infancy, manhood and old age are pourtrayed in a manner not surpassed in power by any description in literature With no hope beyond the grave, with hell for the wicked and no cessation from pain even in heaven, whose inhabitants are tormented with the prospect of descending again to earth, no wonder that exemption from birth was the desire of the wise, and annihilation the last hope of those who were doomed to the sorrows of conception, birth and decay

[30] "Then ether, air, light, water, earth, severally united with the properties of sound and the rest, existed as distinguishable according to their qualities, but possessing various energies they could not without combination create living beings Having combined therefore, they assumed the character of entire unity and from the direction of spirit with the acquiescence of the indiscrete Principle, Intellect and the rest, to the gross elements inclusive, formed an egg This vast egg was the abode of Vishnu in the form of Brahmā." *Vishnu Purāna*, p 18

bhāga,[27] (disjunction), is brought into reality, and *samyoga* (union from contiguity) is dissolved. First the globe of the earth, next fire, followed by air and water are successively destroyed and creation ceases to exist and all souls attain final emancipation. This is termed *mahāpralaya* In the second, is the final emancipation of Brahmā, which is called *Khanda-pralaya* (partial dissolution) In this, with the exception of merit and demerit, present consciousness, and action, all else perish At the close of one hundred extraordinary years,[28] of which mention has been made, Brahmā attains this accomplishment of desire After the lapse of this period, a succeeding Brahmā is born Another opinion is that there are four dissolutions Besides the above two, there is a third when right apprehension is taken up from mankind and this will happen at the close of a cycle of the four ages The fourth is the dissolution of each particular thing which is called its *pralaya*, as when the *manas* first dissolves its connection with the rational soul, and following this, when the union of soul and body is then severed [29]

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[27] Earth according to the Nyaya, is eternal in its atoms, non-eternal in its parts An atom is defined thus 'an atom is, what exists has no cause and is without beginning and end an atom is contrary to what has a measure' Roer, p 14 Colour, taste and the like are said to be eternal, or otherwise according to the substances in which they exist, these two being eternal in the atoms of water and light but in other substances have a cause The atomic nature of the mind is inferred from the fact that several objects of knowledge are not perceived by it at once

I believe *vibhāga* is here meant, and the suffix has been omitted by the error of a copyist This is undoubtedly the sense of the passage

[28] The aggregate of the four ages, Krita, Treta, Dwāpara and Kali multiplied by a thousand, constitute a day of Brahmā, his night is of equal duration, and of such days and nights is the year of Brahmā composed One hundred such years constitute his whole life A great *Kalpa*, as distinguished from a minor *Kalpa*, is properly not a day but a life of Brahmā *Vishnu Purāna*, Wilson, pp 23, 25, 6

[29] The following are the four kinds of dissolution as given by the *Vishnu Purāna* 1, *Naimittika* occasional, *Prākritika*,

The (renewed) creation of the world is called *srishti* Through the volition of the Supreme Being, and after the lapse of ages and at the advent of a special time, merit and demerit recover their sway, and the indivisible atoms of matter are again moved Two atoms first combine. this is called *dvy-anuka*, then three *dvy-anukas* unite and are named *try-anuka*, the union of four *dvy-anukas* is termed *chatur-anuka*, and thus they gradually coalesce, till numerous forms are manifested, and contrariwise to their dissolution, they are produced in the following order air, fire, water, earth, and subsequently, Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahādeva [30] The three last are not apparent to the light of vision but assume shape and are beneficent in their operation From air spring aerial forms which reside in *Vāyuloka*, a [75] sphere above the earth, and the sense of touch and the blowing wind whose energising

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essence is called in Sanskrit, *prāna* (vital breath), of which there are five kinds[31] as will be related.

From fire (light) spring fiery bodies dwelling in *Adityaloka*[31] which is the sphere of the sun, and vision and the modes of heat. From water are the aqueous bodies dwelling in *Varunaloka*[32] which is said to be near the mountain Sumeru, and the rudiment of taste and the seas and ice and hail From earth, are earthly forms, and the rudiment of smell, minerals, plants and animals Brahmā by his volition first brings into being all (immovable)[33] forms produced without generation,

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[31] These are (1) *prāna,* breath, the ordinary inspiration and expiration

(2) *Apāna,* downward breath, the air or vital force acting in the lower parts of the body

(3) *Samāna,* collective breath, so named from conducting equally the food, &c , through the body

(4) *Udāna,* separate breath, the vital force that causes the pulsations of the arteries in the upper portions of the body from the navel to the head

(5) *Vyāna,* separate breath, by which internal division and diffusion through the body are effected

These airs are not the elemental air, but subtle inward forces necessary to vitality and the efficacy of the organic functions of the human frame Davies, pp 66, 67

[31] A name of the sun , his car is presided over by a troop of seven celestial beings who in turn, occupy his orb during several months of the year Their names are given in the Vishnu Purāna (p 234) They are the agents in the distribution of cold, heat and rain at their respective seasons Their number was subsequently increased to twelve, representing the months of the year

[32] Varuna a name which corresponds with *Oiranos,* was appointed to the sovereignty of the waters, according to the Vishnu Purāna (p 153) and was likewise an Aditya, but his functions reached far beyond this sphere and he was considered anciently as sovereign ruler of the three worlds The planets the winds, the waters were equally in his power, and his attributes raised him to a height of moral grandeur above that of any of the Vedic deities

Dr Dowson who quotes Muir

[33] The creation of the creator in his abstraction was the fivefold immovable world without intellect or reflection, and void of perception and sensation, and destitute of motion Since immovable things were first created, this is called the first creation *Vish Pur.* 34 These, Wilson observes, are final productions, or the forms in which the previously created elements and faculties are more or less perfectly aggregated By immovable things are meant the mineral and vegetable kingdoms

and wonderful are the details they give herein, and it is said that a single eternal volition of the Deity at their appointed times operates to create and destroy. The creative will is called *Chikirshā* (desire to act) and the destructive will *Sanjihirshā* (desire to take away).

Their works are in a five-fold series (1) *Sutra*, a short technical sentence (2) *bhāshya*, commentary on a somewhat difficult *sutra* (3) *vārttika*, a critical annotation on the two (4) *tikā*, commentary (properly of the original or of another commentary) on No. 3; (5) *nibandha*, an explanation of technical rules Another opinion is that the series runs to twelve Besides those enumerated, (6) *vritti*, a brief elucidation of some complicated subjects in the first-mentioned, (7) *nirukta*, etymological interpretation of a word Sound is held to be of two kinds, (*a*) inarticulate, which is termed *dhvani* (sound, noise), and (*β*) articulate, *varna* (a letter,) also called *akshara* The junction of several letters is called *pada*, a word, and several words in connection form, *vākya*, a sentence, and a collection of these make a *sutra*, or aphorism, and several *sutras* are called *prakarana* (article or section) These last again when connected are [76] termed *āhnika*, and an aggregate of the latter, *adhyāya*, which combined together compose a *sāstra* or didactic work In some treatises, ambiguities are discussed regarding the definitions of *pada* which are therein resolved (8) *prakarana*, is a section treating of one or two topics (9) *āhnika*, a short task sufficing for a diurnal lesson (10) *parisishta*, a supplement to a technical work · (11) *paddhati*, a manual or the texts relating to each of the six sciences in prescribed order : (12) *sangraha*, an epitome of the sciences These classes of works are not confined to this school alone *Vrajyā* is a compendium or homogeneous collection, and instead of the divisions into sections and chapters, the following ten words are used.

(1) *anka*, (2) *uchchvāsa*, (3) *sarga*, (4) *visrāma*, (5) *ullāsa*, (6) *patala*, (7) *adhyāya*, (8) *uddesa*, (9) *adhina*, (10) *tantra*.

The Nyāya philosophy is divided into five *adhyāyas*. The first gives a list of the sixteen subjects to be discussed, and a definition of each. The second deals with the detail of *pramāna* (proof or evidence) and accurate knowledge and the like. The third is on the six kinds of objects of thought, namely, soul; body, organs of sense, objects of sense, intellect and mind. The fourth treats of its remaining heads The fifth is on *jāti* (futility) and *nigrahasthāna* (confutation of an adversary) Although the system of Kanāda is antecedent in date, yet since the Nyāya treats of a multiplicity of subjects, and is generally the first studied, I have given it priority of place.

VAISESHIKA.

This great system of science owes its origin to Kanāda [34] It agrees in the main, with the Nyāya, differing from it only on a few points.

In the works of this school, seven predicaments are named which comprise the entire scheme [77] These are *dravya*, substance, *guna*, quality, *karman*, action, *sāmānya*, community, *visesha*, particularity, *samavāya* intimate relation, and *abhāva*, negation. Of *pramāna*, proof or evidence, they accept only *pratyaksha*, (perception) and *anumāna*[35] (inference). The change in qualities occurring in the process

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[34] The Vaiseshika school as represented by Kanāda, the reputed author of the *Vaiseshika system*, in Hastings, *Encycl*, xii 568-570 [J S] Of Kanāda little is known The Vaiseshika system is one of physical science, the Nyāya deals with elementary, metaphysical notions, and the forms of the syllogism, and is the standard work in logic among the Hindus I refer the reader for a critical account of the system to the introduction to the *Categories* by Dr E Roer, Colebrooke (*Miscellaneous essays*), to the *Dialogues on Hindu Philosophy* by Dr K M Banerjea and Dr Fitz-Edward Hall's *Refutation of Hindu Philosophy*

[35] The text has *ātman*, a copyist's error for *anumāna*, which it would closely resemble even to the diacritical points The Vaiseshika system differs from the Nyāya in this very point, admitting only two kinds of proof, perception and inference.

of cooking termed *pāka-ja*,[36] arises from the sun's rays or heat of the fire. These qualities are colour, taste, smell and tangibility.

The Naiyāyikas assert that bodily substance is unchanged, whether in its natural state or under the influence of heat. The Vaiseshikas, that the (conjunction of) atoms forming the body, disintegrate through the action of heat and are reunited by divine power

Again, the Nyāya school make *samavāya* (constant intimate relation), perceptible to vision, while the Vaiseshikas allow it to be cognisable only by argument and proof

MIMAMSA.[37]

The founder of this school was the sage Jaimini It is more ancient than the two already described, and the chief exponents of its philosophy are Kumārila Bhatta, Prabhakara Guru, and Murāri Misra Its professors are said to reject the notion of a Supreme Being, while some accept it, but do not

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[36] "The change produced by cooking takes place according to the Vaiseshikas in the single atoms" So the *Bhāsha Parichchheda* The commentator observes on this, that as long as the parts are retained in the compound, no change by cooking is possible, but when by the union of fire, the compound substances have been destroyed, change occurs in the atoms which become independent units Again by the junction of atoms changed by process of cooking, a production is effected from the compound of two, three &c , atoms, again to a compound of many parts, for by the extraordinary velocity of heat the transition from the destruction of one compound to the formation of another is sudden The Naiyāyika view is that compound substances have pores and the minute parts of fire enter them and therefore the change by the process of cooking is possible although the parts be retained in the compound

[37] The Mimāmsa is classed sometimes as the *Purva* or Prior and the *Uttara* or Posterior The object of the first was to support the authority of the Vedas, to maintain their ritual, and interpret their true meaning The second is the Vedānta or supplement of the Vedas, and was formed at a later date based on the synonymous term Upanishads, or the mystic teaching of the Vedas The Upanishads are called Vedāntas, and their philosophy is known as the Vedāntic System. For Mimāmsā, see Hastings, viii 648, also i 137.

allow of a Creator, attributing the production of existing things to merit and demerit. When an assembly of the learned was convened with a view to ascertain the truth as to their creed, it was discovered that they were all of this latter opinion, but in deference to the variable character of minds, they are silent as to the nature of the Divinity, and lay the principal stress in discussion on the diversities of works. But men from ignorance and captiousness lay this opinion to their charge Quantity is not accounted by them as attributable to God *Parimāna*, quantity, which the Nyāya school places among qualities, is not predicated by them of the Deity, and they do not allow that Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahādeva are divine manifestations, affirming that human souls attain that eminence through good deeds They hold mystic hymns in the place of particular deities whose potency they ascribe to the subtile spells of sound They allow no beginning, nor end to the world, and believe the four elements, the mountains, and the great seas to be eternal They believe that bodies are produced from an aggregate of minute atoms, and not from one substance, *manas* and *ātman* are all pervading, and a man's actions are the result of his own free will and initiative, and while granting the states of hell and heaven, and transmigration into lower and higher forms of being, and final emancipation, they do not believe that the latter is attainable by all men but is the result of the union of perfected understanding and action, and a sublime knowledge and an ineffable repose will be the eternal portion of that state

[78] The perception of sound by the ear, they believe to be one of the qualities of air The Nyāya places it in ether. The second of the two philosophers above-named teaches that *samavāya*, co-inherence, exists as eternal in things eternal and non-eternal in things non-eternal, and everywhere separate, and they interpret it by the term *tādātmya* (identity of nature). They reject *visesha*. According to Kumārila

Bhatta and Murāri Misra, there are ten predicaments (*padārtha*)· (1) substance, (2) quality, (3) action, (4) community, (5) identity of nature, and (6) negation. (7) *Vaisishtya* (endowment with attributes), is the term applied to the connection of non-existence[38] which they regard as a separate *éntelékheia*, as the Nyāya regards *Svarupa* (true nature) and *Sabda* (8) *Sakti* (energy) is a characteristic imperceptible to sight but efficient in action, like the property of burning in fire, and quenching of thirst in water This they affirm to be two-fold, essential (*jāti*) as has been exemplified, and accidental, such as may be produced by incantation and the like The Nyāya school recognises the properties of burning and quenching of thirst as inherent in fire and water. (9) *Sādrisya*, similarity between two objects (10) *Sankhyā*, number, is not regarded as a quality but as a distinct substance Prabhākara Guru reckons nine predicaments and excludes *abhāva* (negation) from the notion of *things*

Kumārila Bhatta acknowledges eleven substances, the nine already given and (10) *andhakāra*, darkness The Naiyāyikas, with the Guru and Murāri Misra recognise the negation of light, but this school makes it a separate object of knowledge, which casts its shade over everything Colour quantity, individuality, conjunction, disjunction, priority, and posteriority, are qualities appertaining to it. (11) *Sabda* (sound) is considered eternal[39] and all-pervading Letters are substance and possess the same qualities as darkness, except colour. Qualities are twenty-two in number Prabhākara Guru and Murāri Misra do not hold sound to be substance, but acknowledge its eternity According to Kumārila Bhatta,

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[38] See the *Sarva Darsana Sangr* Udayana tries to establish that although ether, the site of sound, is imperceptible, the non-existence of that which abides in this site is perceptible, p 194

[39] The Naiyāyikas deny this, asserting that it is non-eternal The eternity of the Veda depends on the Mimāmsa doctrine that sound is eternal The arguments *pro* and *con* are stated at some length in the Jaimini Darsana, v *Sarva Darsana-Sangraha.*

intelligence operates like cognition arising from inferential reasoning. The Guru teaches that its own (indwelling) illumination proceeds from intelligence, as a lamp illumines itself while revealing other objects The Misra holds with the Nyāya that it proceeds from the *manas* This school does not accept the four kinds of proof (*pramāna*) but only the two first, *perception* and *inference*

The Naiyāyikas say that gold has its origin in fire, the Mimāmsakas, in earth The notion of time with the former, is apprehended by the reason, with the latter, by the senses, who also consider colour, among qualities, to be eternal, and each of the five colours in all diversities of position, to be one. Generality is innate in substance They do not accept the notion of *Vega Sanskāra*, (velocity) and ascribe its effect to *karman* (action or motion).

According to Bhatta and Misra, *pramāna* (proof) is of six kinds, four of which are the same as those of the Nyāya, and the senses are said to be seven, as they add *tāmasendriya* by which the quality of darkness is cognized They reject *kevalānvayin*, (con-comitancy of affirmative) and *kevala vyatirekin* (concomitancy of negatives), and the Guru, *mithyājnāna* (erroneous opinion) *Sansaya* (doubt)[40] and *viparyaya* (misconception), are recognised as two forms of veritable knowledge [79] The Naiyāyikas prove the existence of air from inference, the Mimāmsakas from touch. The fifth kind of *pramāna* is *arthāpatti* (presumption), discerning the subject and assuming the predicate [41]

The sixth kind of *anupalabdhi*, non-perception of things They assert that perception of the non-existence of things

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[40] Doubt is founded on the notion whether a thing is what it seems to be, as a man or the stump of a tree , misconception is incorrect notion, as the notion of silver in mother o' pearl

[41] That is, the assumption of a thing not itself perceived, but necessarily implied by another which is seen, heard or proved Colebrooke, I 329.

arises from the non-knowledge of those things.[42] The Misra like the Naiyāyikas includes this in *pratyaksha*

The cardinal point of their system lies in works, which are of two kinds, *vihita* (enjoined), a work productive of good, and *nishiddha* (prohibited), resulting in pain The first is again fourfold, (1) *nitya* (constant), that is, a daily duty, reprehensible to omit (2) *naimittaka* (occasional rites), necessary duties at special times such as eclipses. (3) *kāmya* (desirable), things done with desire of fruition·[43] (4) *prāyaschitta*, expiatory acts Of the nine schools, the first six recognize these obligations and carry them into practice to the prosperous ordering of their lives A separate order of ceremonies is appointed to each of the four castes of men

The questions comprised by this philosophy are set forth in twelve books The first treats of the predicaments and of proof the second, of various rites and certain elucidations of the Vaidic text. the third, of certain important ceremonies the results of rites which are revealed in that sacred volume and other minor points accessory to the main objects. The fourth, that the acquisition of worldly goods is twofold, personal comfort and (to procure oblations) for casting into the fire[44] (for sacrificial purposes) The fifth, of the order of various duties The sixth, of the substitutes for various rites

[42] The sophism *anupalabdhi-sama* is the trying to establish a fact from the impossibility of perceiving the non-perception of it For the Nyāya on *pratyaksha* see Roer, p 26

[43] Jacobi in his translation of the Vedānta-Sāra, illustrates "*nitya*" constant rites, such as the Sandhyā prayers and the like, (which) cause ruin if left undone, and *Naimittika*, occasional rites, as the birth-sacrifice following the birth of a son, &c The prohibited things are the slaying of a Brahman, &c, which result in hell and the "things done with a desire of reward" (*kāmya*) are such as are done to procure heaven

[44] I have no doubt that the Persian words 'casting into the fire' is a translation of the Sanskrit *homa* which exactly expresses this meaning, that is, the oblations such as butter, &c, which are part of the ceremonial of worship, and the ability to purchase these goods is one of the advantages of wealth Abul Fazl appears to assume in his readers a general acquaintance with the subjects he expounds, and the half lights under which he displays them, mislead and perplex

The seventh, of the detail of the ceremonies to be performed which are only briefly described in the Vedas The eighth is an exposition of dependent rites which are included in the performance of the primary. The ninth, a discussion of the mystic verses specified for a particular case in the sacred book, when quoted in a new connection, and hymns of praise The tenth, the discussion of dependent rites which are precluded by non-performance of the primary rite The eleventh discusses the occasion where one act suffices for the fulfilment of two (or more) acts The twelfth, where the chief purpose of the rite is one only, but has a further reference without express assignment.[45]

VEDANTA

The founder of this school was *Vyāsa*[46] The Hindus ascribe extreme longevity to him among nine other persons as follows: Lomasa, Mārkandeya, Vyāsa, Ashwatthāmā,

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[45] This synopsis of the Mimāmsaka treatise is very imperfect and would be unintelligible without the aid of an exact and scientific summary of its contents Fortunately this is furnished by the *Sarva-Darsana Sangraha* or review of the different systems of Hindu philosophy by Mādhava Achārya, translated by Messrs Cowell and Gough This work was composed by the author in the 14th century

[46] For the Vedānta school, see Hastings, ii 597-598, i 137-9 (*advaita*), ii 796-799 (*brahma*), xi 185-189 (*Sankara*), besides very many excellent modern works and exact translations The legendary personage, known as Veda-vyāsa or divider of the Vedas, is represented in the Vishnu Purāna, as an incarnation of Vishnu He is also the reputed author of the Mahābhārata, known to mortals as Krishna Dwaipāyana, and to the gods as the deity Nārāyana, for none else, but a deity was considered capable of the feat The name of Bādarāyana is also given to him The principal tenets of the Vedānta are that God is the omniscient and omnipotent cause of the existence, continuation, and dissolution of the universe Creation is an act of His will At the consummation all things are resolved into Him He is sole existent, secondless, entire, sempiternal, infinite, universal soul, truth, wisdom, intelligence and happiness Individual souls emanate from Him like sparks from a fire and return to Him, being of the same essence. The soul is a portion of the divine substance Colebrooke, *Misc Essays*, Ed Cowell, I 394 The original Vedānta did not recognise the doctrine of Māyā or illusion

Hanumant Bāli, Vibhishana, Kripachārya, and Parasurāma, and relate wonderful legends regarding them. [80]

The professors of this important school of philosophy follow the Mimāmsa in the definitions of *padārtha*, and *pramāna* and other points, and accept the teachings of Bhatta, but heaven and hell, rewards and punishments and such other cosmical phenomena, they look on as a delusion under the appearance of reality. In some works there are two predicaments, (1) *drik* (discerning) = *ātman* (soul) (2) *drisya* (the visible creation) They allow of no existence external to God The world is a delusive appearance, and as a man in sleep sees fanciful shapes, and is affected by a thousand joys and sorrows, so are its seeming realities. One effulgent light conveys a multiplicity of impressions and assumes diversity of names.

The subjects of discussion in this great system are six. *Brahman*, *Iswara*, *Jiva*, (intelligent sentient soul), *Ajnāna* (Ignorance), *Sambandha* (relation), *Bheda*, difference. These six are held to be without beginning, and the first without end.

Brahma is the Supreme Being, and is essential existence and wisdom and also bliss which is termed *ānanda*. These three alone are predicated of the Inscrutable *Ajnāna*, Ignorance, in opposition to the ancients, is regarded as having a separate existence, and two powers are attributed to it (1) *vikshepa-sakti*, the power of projection (2) *āvarana-sakti*, the power of veiling the real nature of things *Sambandha* is the relation of Ignorance with the first-mentioned *Bheda* is the disjunction of these two

It is said that Ignorance in connection with the first is called *Māyā*, or the power of Illusion, and with the second, *avidyā* (nescience).

[81] By the association of Illusion (*māyā*) with the essential sanctity (of Brahma), a definite hypostasis arises which is called *Isvara* in whose omniscience there is no defect.

This Supreme Being in his association with nescience (*avidyā*) is called *jiva* (the soul) and also *jivātmā*, (rational, conscious soul) Knowledge lurks behind the veil of concealment, and the dust of defect falls not on the skirt of the divine majesty. One sect believe that as *avidyā* is one, *jiva* can be only one, and these aver that none has ever attained emancipation Another sect affirm that as *avidyā* is distributively numerous, so likewise is *jiva;* and that many of the wise have attained that accomplishment of desire which consists in the removal of *ajnāna* (Ignorance) before-mentioned, by right apprehension. *Ajnāna* has three qualities *sattva* (goodness), which is attended with happiness and the like *rajas* (foulness or passion), from which spring desire, pain, pleasure, and similar effects *tamas,* darkness, which is accompanied by anger, dullness, love of ease, and the like Isvara, in union with *rajas,* takes the name of Brahmā from whom, emanates the appearance of creation Isvara, in union with *sattva,* becomes Vishnu, whose office is the preservation of the created Isvara united with *tamas* is Mahādeva, who annihilates what has been created Thus the chain of creation is linked in these three modes, and all are unreal appearances produced by Ignorance

Like the ancients they hold the elements to be five, but each is twofold.—(1), *sukshma,* (subtile), imperceptible to the eye which is termed *apanchikrita,* (non-quintuplicated)[47]

[47] Literally "not becoming five by combination," that is, rudimentary It is thus explained in Jacobi s Vedānta-Sāra From Intelligence associated with Ignorance, attended by its projective power, in which the quality of insensibility (*tamas*) abounds, proceeds ether, from ether, air, from air heat, from heat, water and from water, earth The prevalence of insensibility in the cause of these elements is inferred from observing the excess of inanimateness in them Then in those elements, ether and the rest, arise the qualities of pleasure, pain and insensibility in the proportion in which they exist in their cause" These are subtile, rudimentary or non-quintuplicated elements The gross elements are those made from combining the five (subtile elements)

Then in ether, sound is manifested, in air, sound and touch, in heat, sound, touch and form, in earth, sound, touch, form, taste

in which the quality of *tamas* is more largely associated: (2), *sthula* (gross), the reverse of the other, and this is named *panchikrita* (quintuplicated) It springs from the greater admixture of foulness, and carried to a greater degree, receives the name of ether, the quality attaching to which is sound, and thus considered, air takes its origin which has the two qualities of sound and touch From predominance of goodness, fire is generated, from which proceed three qualities, the two former and form From the greater proportions of goodness and foulness, water is manifested which has four qualities, the three former and savour From excess of darkness, earth is produced, to which appertain the whole five qualities, *viz.*, the four former and smell

It is said that through the predominance of goodness, hearing is manifested from ether, tangibility from air, vision from fire, taste from water, and smell from the earth These five are termed *jnānendriya*, organs of perception From ether comes the power of utterance termed *vāch*, (speech) From air, the power of the hand (*pāni*) is manifested from fire, [82] the power of the foot (*pādah*) From water, the power of evacuation, *vāyu*, from earth, urinary discharge, called *upastha* (*tā aidoia*)

In each of the five, foulness is predominant, and they are called *karmendriya*, organs of action [48] The majority of Hindu philosophers hold to these opinions

Through the predominance of *sattva* a subtile substance proceeds called *antahkarana* (the interior sense), which under four distinct states, has four separate names That in which goodness predominates and where the intention of distinguishing and investigating enter, is called *chitta* (thinking-principle) Where foulness (or passion) has more promi-

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and smell " The process of quintuplication is described later by Abul Fazl

[48] The organs of action are the mouth, hand, foot, arms and organ of generation, the five organ of sense are the eye, the ear, the nose, the tongue, and the skin

nence and doubt arises, it is called *manas*, (mind), and where the proportion of goodness exceeds to such an extent that certainty is attained, it is called *buddhi* (intelligence), and when through excess of darkness, it regards itself and attributes to itself what is extraneous to its own nature, it is called *ahankāra*, egotism or consciousness

From the non-quintuplicated elements, through the predominance of foulness, five vital airs are generated —(1), *prāna*, respiration from mouth and nose (2) *udāna*, breathing upwards from the wind pipe, (3), *samāna* from the stomach (4), *apāna*, flatulence, (5), *vyāna*, pervading the whole body The ten organs (of perception and action) with *antahkarana*, (the interior sense) and the five vital airs, sixteen altogether, are called *lingasarira*[49] or *sukshma-sarira* (the subtile frame). Some distinguish *antahkarana*, the internal sense, as two in regard to (*a*) intelligence (*buddhi*) and mind (*manas*), and (β) the thinking principle (*chitta*), with egotism (*ahankāra*), and thus make seventeen members

This body is affirmed to exist in all animals, but by reason of its tenuity is not apprehended by the senses A living principle is generated which is cognisant of all subtile frames in their entirety, called *Hiranyagarbha*[50] (golden womb, or

[49] The soul whose desire is fruition is invested with a subtile person, towards the formation of which the evolution of principles proceeds no further than the elementary rudiments (non-quintuplicated) The body is propagated by generation and is perishable The subtile person is more durable, and capable of transmigration through successive bodies which it assumes as a mimic shifts his disguises It is primeval, produced by original nature at the initial development of principles, and is of atomic size v Colebrooke, 257-58

[50] This is the name given to Brahmā (in the masculine gender) the intelligent spirit whose birth was in the Golden mundane egg from which he is thus named Māyā or the cosmical illusion, is fictitiously associated with Brahma from all-eternity In the series of æons without beginning or end, the forms of life have at the beginning of each æon emanated in, first Isvara, the unreal figment of the cosmic fiction, unreal to the philosopher, real to the ignorant multitude, secondly Hiranyagarbha, the golden germ, or Prāna, the breath of life, or Sutrātman, the Thread-spirit, which is the totality of migrating souls in the state of dreaming sleep His body

fœtus) and all that is generated subsequently is believed to emanate from this immaterial form

The origin of the gross body is thus described Each of the (five) subtile elements is divided into moieties, and each of the first five of the ten moieties is subdivided into four equal parts The remaining (undivided) moiety of subtile ether, combined with one part from each of the other four subtile elements, air, fire, water and earth produces the coarse or mixed [83] element of ether The (undivided) moiety of air, combined with one part of ether, fire, water, and earth becomes the mixed element of air The (undivided) moiety of fire, with one part of ether, water, earth (and air), becomes the mixed element of fire, and so on with water and earth Others say that the mixed elements of ether and air are formed without the combination of fire, water and earth, but that the mixed elements of fire, water and earth are formed as described. Each of these three is divided into two moieties, one moiety of each is left undivided and the other is divided into three equal parts, which are combined in the manner above stated, and thus these three mixed elements of fire, water, and earth are produced · from these quintuplicated elements, by the predominant combination of one of the threefold qualities (of goodness, foulness and darkness) the fourteen worlds[51] and their inhabitants are brought into existence It is said, that a living principle is generated, which discerns all gross bodies. This is termed *Virāt*

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is the sum of invisible bodies, the tenuous *involucra* in which the soul passes from body to body in eternal palingenesia (Gough, 53-55)

[51] These *lokas* or worlds are Bhur, terrestrial , Bhuvar, the atmospheric sphere from the earth to the sun , Svar-loka, heaven , ten million leagues above is Maharloka, the inhabitants of which dwell in it through a day of Brahmā at twice that distance is Janaloka where Sanandana and other pure-minded sons of Brahmā reside at four times the distance is Tapo loka, the sphere of penance inhabited by deities called Vaibhrājas, who are unconsumable by fire At six times the distance is Satya-loka, the sphere of truth, the inhabitants of which never again know death *Vishnu Purāna*, 213 The remaining seven are the nether worlds,

The annihilation of the world is thus described The earth will be destroyed by water, the water by fire, the fire by air successively, and the air in its turn perishes in ether and ether in Māyā or illusion, and Ignorance (*ajnāna*) with its results rises out of this Unreality Three degrees of this (dissolution) are described (1). *Dainandina* (daily), when the (close of) the day of Hiranyagarbha which is the same as that of Brahmā, destroys the greater part of creation [52] (2) *Prākrita*, (elemental), when all creation is absorbed in *ajnāna* (Ignorance) (3) *Atyantika* (absolute), when Ignorance ends and Right Apprehension sheds its radiance. The first kind has frequently occurred and will recur The others happen but once, and Ignorance, with the constant recurrence of works and the co-operation of the wise of heart, together with the three principles [*satva*, *rajas* and *tamas*] before mentioned, will be absorbed into non-existence

This system of philosophy is laid down in four books The first contains an account of Brahma the second removes the (apparent) discrepancies between form and substance the third is the preparation of the soul for the reception of divine knowledge, and the fourth on the modes, forms, fruit and effect of its attainment

The Hindu sages have divided the Vedas into three portions The first is the *karmakānda* (relating to works), the practical section termed *Purva Mimāmsa*, which has been briefly described as the third school. The second is the *jnānakānda*, the speculative section, called also *Uttara Mimāmsā*, celebrated as the Vedānta The third is the *Upāsanā* (service) [84] which is termed Sankarshana

[52] The destruction of creatures, not of the substance of the world The incidental or occasional dissolution is termed *naimittika* (see p 147) of this Vol It is called incidental as occasioned by the interval of Brahmā's days, the destruction occurring during the night The elemental occurs at the end of Brahmā's life, and the absolute or final, is individual annihilation and exemption from future existence *V. P* 630 *Dainandina-pralaya* is the destruction of the world after 15 years of Brahmā's age Monier Williams, *Sansk Dict*

Mimāmsā. This regards the worship of God under a personal aspect, and is not now extant.

They profess that the study of the Vedānta is not suitable for every person, nor are its mysterious doctrines to be heard by every ear. The inquirer should accurately investigate what is eternal and non-eternal and discarding from his mind belief in the actuality of existence, he should zealously pursue the objects to be attained. He will then be no longer distressed by the annihilation of sense-perceptions, nor be fettered by pain and pleasure, and will gain a daily increasing hope of final liberation

Sānkhya

The founder of this philosophical system was Kapila [53] Some assert that the followers of this school do not believe in God The fact is, however, that they do not affirm the existence of a creator, and creation is ascribed to Nature (*Prakriti*), and the world is said to be eternal All that is veiled by non-existence is not believed to be non-existent[54] but the caused is absorbed in the cause, as a tortoise retracts its feet within its shell They accept the doctrine of freedom of will in actions, and of hell, of heaven, and the recompenses of deeds With regard to emancipation, they agree with the Mimāmsā Proof (*pramāna*), is of three kinds [55] They do not

[53] For Sānkhya, see Hastings, xi 189-192, vi 454, and for Yoga, xii 831-833 Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna*, ii 346 Davies and Colebrooke

[54] That is, that the existent is produced from the existent only, as the Sānkhyas hold Thus, cloth is not distinct from the threads as it abides in the latter "As the limbs of a tortoise when retracted within its shell are concealed, and when they come forth are revealed, so the particular effects as cloth, &c , of a cause, as threads, &c , when they come forth and are revealed, are said to be produced , and when they retire and are concealed, are said to be destroyed but there is no such thing as the production of the non-existent, or the destruction of the existent" *Sarva Darsana Sangraha* Cowell, Gough, pp 225-26, and Colebrooke, I, 266

[55] Perception, inference, and fit testimony

believe in the soul (*āman*) [56] Analogy and comparison are not accounted sources of knowledge, nor are time and space, substances, but caused by the motion of the sun. The word *tattva* (first principle) is used in their treatises for *padārtha,* of which there are twenty-five, and these are comprised under four heads 1 *Praḳriti* (Nature), which is evolvent and not evolute 2 *Praḳriti-viḳriti* (developments of Nature), evolvent and evolute; these are of seven kinds, *viz* , *mahat* (the great one, *Buddhi* or Intellect), *ahanḳāra* (consciousness or egotism), and five *tanmātra* (subtile elements) 3 *Viḳriti* (modifications), are evolutes only, and are not more than sixteen, namely the eleven *indriya*—(five senses, five organs of action and *manas*) and the five gross elements (ether, air, light or fire, earth and water) 4 The fourth is neither Nature, nor modification, nor evolvent nor evolute, and is called *Purusha,* that is *Atman,* the soul

The first of the principles above-mentioned is primordial matter, *ilei,* which is universal, indiscrete, and possessing the modes of goodness, passion and darkness The fourth is viewed under two aspects, (*a*) the Supreme Being, as absolute existence and knowledge,[57] (*b*) the rational soul, omnipresent, eternal and multitudinous By the union of the first and fourth, existence and non-existence come into being Nature is said to be blind It has not the power of vision nor of perception but only that of flux and reflux and the soul is

[56] It exists as pure inward light without any instrumentation by which it can become cognisant of the external world This has been supplied, but it is foreign to the soul and as objective to it as any form of matter Like Kant, the Sānkhyas hold that there is no knowledge of an external world save as represented by the action of our faculties to the soul, and they take as granted the objective reality of our sense-perceptions The soul is different in kind from all material things, and will be finally severed from them by an eternal separation It will then have no object and no function of thought, and will remain self-existent and isolated in a state of passive and eternal repose v Davies, pp 18-20

[57] The theistical Sānkhya, as opposed to the system of Kapila, understands by *Purusha,* not individual soul alone, but likewise God (*Isvara*) the ruler of the world Colebrooke, I 256

regarded as a man without feet When the two conjoin, [85] the renewal and destruction of life come into successive operation. At the time of elemental dissolution, the three modes (of goodness, passion and darkness) are in equipoise When the time of creation arrives, the mode of goodness preponderates, and *Mahat* (Intellect) is revealed, and this is considered the first emanation, and it is separate for every human creature It is also called *Buddhi*, and is a substance, and the primary seat of eight states or qualities, *viz* , virtue, vice, knowledge, ignorance, absence of passion or passivity (*virāga*), from which springs perception of the nothingness of worldly things, and indifference, *avirāga* its opposite *aisvarya*, supernatural power acquired through austerities, and acts that seem incredible or impossible to human vision, of which eight kinds are given in the Pātanjala system *anaisvarya* its opposite Four of the above positive states arise from the predominance of the mode of goodness and the other four from that of darkness From *Mahat* (Intellect),[58] proceeds consciousness (*ahankāra*) It is the principle of egotism and is the reference of every thing to self In *Mahat* (intellect), when the mode, goodness predominates, it is called *vaikrita ahankāra*, modified consciousness If under the influence of the mode, darkness, it is called *bhutadi ahankāra* (source of elemental being) If passion is in the ascendant, it becomes *taijasa ahankāra* or impellent consciousness From the first kind of consciousness, the eleven organs proceed, six of sense (including *manas*) and five of action, as before described. From the second, the five *tanmātra* (subtile elements), sound, tangibility, colour or form, savour and odour. These are regarded in this system as subtile substances from which the five gross elements take their rise from sound, ether, from tangibility, air, from form, fire, from savour, water, and from odour, earth.

[58] That is, not the exaltation but the predominance of self in thought to the supreme conviction of the sole subjective personality of the thinker v Davies and Colebrooke

From this exposition it is clear that the seven substances mentioned (intellect, consciousness, and the five subtile elements) are on the one hand evolvents, and on the other evolutes, and the sixteen, that is, the eleven organs and the five gross elements, are evolutes. The soul (*ātman*) is considered neither evolvent nor evolute. The five senses are held to be organs of perception, and *manas* discriminates between advantage and detriment Consciousness cognizes itself by act or the omission of act, and intellect determines one or the other From the five gross elements, other productions are evolved, but as *tattvas*, are incapable of further creations, causality is not attributed to them

The elemental order of creation is sixfold —(1) *svarga-loka*, the world above, in the constitution of which goodness prevails. (2) *mrityu-loka*, (world of death), the abode of men, in which foulness or passion predominates *pātāla-loka*, the world beneath, in which darkness is prevalent *devatā* (superior order of being) in which the element of goodness is predominant. [86] Through their extraordinary power they can appear in divers shapes, and assume astonishing appearances, and from the transparency of their essence their true forms are invisible to the sight. There are eight orders of these —(1) *Brāhmya*, blessed spirits, that inhabit the abode of *Brahmā* (2) *Prājāpatya* *Prajāpati* is the name of a great divinity to whom is assigned a sphere, and those that dwell therein are thus styled (3) *Aindra* *Indra* is the regent of the heavens, to whom a sphere is likewise referrible, and its dwellers are thus denominated (4) *Paitra* [59] the belief of the Hindu sage is that each individual's progenitors that have died after a life of good works, will receive celestial shapes and enjoy their recompense in a special abode. The *devatās* therein, are called by this name. (5) *Gāndharva*. this is said to be a sphere where the heavenly choristers reside. (6) *Yākṣha* in this sphere the *Yakshas* dwell; they are great

[59] Relating or consecrated to the Manes. Sanskrit *pitarah*

ministering spirits, the guardian of the north. (7) *Rākshasa*, is a sphere inhabited by the *Rākshasas*, who are the malignant fiends of these orders and who slay men (8) *Pisācha* by this name an order of beings is defined who are characterized by an evil nature and perverted intelligence. They are less powerful than the *Rākshasas*, and are assigned a special sphere, and extraordinary legends are related of each of these orders [60]

The Animal creation (*tiryagyonya*)[61] is one in which the mode *rajas* (passion or foulness), prevailed at its production and is of five kinds :—(1) *pasu*, domestic animals (2) *mriga*, wild animals (3) *pakshi*, birds (4) *sarisripa*, creeping things applied to the different reptiles and fishes (5) *sthāvara*, the vegetable kingdom. *Mānushya*, man, was produced through excess of the quality of passion The general opinion adopts this division and belief At the dissolution of the world, these creations perish with the five elements, and the elements are absorbed in the five *tanmātras* (rudimentary elements) which again are veiled in egotism (*ahankāra*), and this in turn is absorbed in the secret recesses of *mahat*, intellect, which is (finally) lost in the pure depths of *Prakriti* (Nature)

Pain is of three kinds —(1) *ādhyātmika*, intrinsic pain, both bodily and mental [87] (2) *ādhidaivika*, supernatural pain or calamity from a divine source, and (3) *ādhibhautika*, extrinsic pain arising from the natural source of the elements *Bandha*, bondage, is the source of all that fetters the spirit and debars it from emancipation.

Prākritika signifies one who holds Nature (*Prakriti*), in place of God *Vaikritika* is one who from ignorance assumes the eleven organs (of action and sense), (*indriya*) to be the Supreme Being *Dakshina* (religious offerings or oblations

[60] An account of these various orders will be found in the Vishnu Purāna

[61] This was the fifth or animal creation The compound is derived from the Sanskrit *tiryak*, crooked or horizontal, applied to an animal (as not erect) and *yoni*, womb, or source.

in general) implies the being attached to the performance of works and believing them to be the ultimate aim of spirituality.

They affirm that he whose mind is concentrated upon one object (of contemplation) and the fruition of the celestial abode, if the subject of his absorption be the first-mentioned and his thoughts be thus continuously applied in efficacious devotion, he attains to the enjoyment of bliss in the sphere above for a hundred thousand *manvantaras*,[62] after which he returns to this world, in the organs of sense and action (*indriya*), during ten *manvantaras*, in the elements during one hundred, in consciousness (*ahankāra*), during one thousand, and in intellect (*mahat*), during ten thousand, he enjoys the fruition of heavenly delights, after which term he reverts to this earth A *manvantara* is one and seventy enumerations of the four ages [63] For each good action a period of heavenly bliss is allotted · for instance, he who gives to a Brahman sufficient ground for the erection of a house, will be recompensed by ten *kalpas* in heaven, a *kalpa* being equivalent to four *yugas*. He who bestows a thousand cows in charity, passes one *kror* and 14,000 *kalpas* in paradise, and after numerous alterations of earth and heaven, the severance between nature (*Prakriti*) and the soul (*Purusha*) is evolved before the vision, and right apprehension arises. This is the

[62] 12,000 years of the gods or 4,320,000 mortals

[63] Thus the Krita Yuga 4,800

Tretā	,,	3,600
Dvāpara	,,	2,400
Kali	,,	1,200
		12,000 years of the gods

By multiplying each of the above by 360, a year of men being a day of the gods, the total is 4,320,000 for a Mahā-yuga or great age this multiplied by 71=306,720,000 According to the Vishnu Purāna there is a surplus which Wilson shows to be the number of years required to reconcile two computations of the Kalpa The later is equal to 1,000 great ages or 4,320,000 × 1,000=4,320,000,000 But a day of Brahmā is also 71 times a Great Age, multiplied by 14 or 4,320,000 × 71 × 14=4,294,080,000 or less than the preceding by 25,920,000 and it is to make up this deficiency that an addition is made to the computation by *manvantras* See the *V P*, p 24, n 6 Abul Fazl makes a *Kalpa* to consist of four *Yugas* only.

goal of emancipation and the renewal of embodiments ceases for ever.

This school also like that of the Vedānta, recognises two kinds of body, the *linga sarira*, or subtile frame, consisting of eighteen members, *viz* , the eleven organs of action and sense with *manas*, the five subtile elements, with intellect and consciousness The other is the *sthula sarira* or gross body, and death signifies the divulsion of the one from the other, the subtile frame continuing till final liberation

The subjects of this system are treated in sixty *tantras* which like the term *adhyāya* is used for division or chapter

The first treats of the existence of Nature and the soul , the second describes Nature as one the third shows the distinction between the soul and Nature the fourth, that there is no effect without a cause the fifth that Nature exists as the root-evolvent of all other forms the sixth, that all evolved action must be associated with one of the three qualities, [88] the seventh, that the separation of the soul from Nature is attained through perfect knowledge. the eighth, the association of these two with Ignorance the ninth, that in the light of perfect knowledge when Nature ceases from alterations of embodiment, if for a time the elemental form should continue to endure, it is solely through the residuum of ignorance otherwise it would also perish the tenth, that causality lies in Nature and not in the soul, and it treats of the five states of the five afflictions (*klesa*), *viz* , ignorance, egotism, desire, aversion and ardent attachment to life, as briefly alluded to in the Pātanjala school Twenty-eight topics treat of the defect of the twenty-eight faculties of the eleven *indriya*, and the seventeen injuries of Intellect. Nine topics treat of the nine distinctions of acquiescence (*tushti*) —(1) *Prakriti-tushti*, (relating to matter), concentration of thought on Nature and contemplation thereof, in the belief that Nature will increase knowledge and sever the soul from itself. (2) *Upādāna-tushti* (relating to means), the knowledge that Nature of itself will

solve no difficulty, and that until the heart is detached from all objects, the end is not attainable: (3) *Kālatushti*, (relating to time), the notion that all desires are fulfilled by the passing away of time, upon which therefore, the mind should be fixed while the heart is detached (4) *Bhāgya-tushti* (relating to fortune); in the knowledge that to the many the world passes away and effects nothing, to understand that the solution of difficulties rests with fortune and to turn thereunto freeing the mind from all other attachment, (5) *Pāra-tushti*, withdrawal from all worldly unsubstantial pleasures in the assurance that thousands have sought them with pain and profited nothing thereby, and hence to abandon their pursuit (6) *supāra-tushti*, to detach the heart from personal possessions, in the view that they have no stability, since tyrants may take them by force, and thieves may by cunning, steal, (7) *Pārāpāra-tushti*, abstinence from pleasures of sense with the knowledge that even if followed by personal gratification, they must cease, and to such as these, attachment is vain (2) *Anuttamāmbhas-tushti*, detachment from all enjoyments, from consciousness of pain in their loss (9) *Uttamāmbhas-tushti*, detachment from pleasure with the motive of avoiding injury to others [64]

Eight *tantras* or topics treat of the eight perfections (*siddhi*) (1) *uha-siddhi* (reasoning), without the necessity of reading to understand a subject by the light of reason (2) *sabda siddhi* (oral instruction), without need of teaching, to understand by the mere hearing of the words. [89] (3) *adhyayana-siddhi* (study), becoming wise by the perception of truths (4) *suhridprāpti-siddhi*, attaining knowledge by intercourse of friends (5) *dāna-siddhi*, (*gift*), serving one who accepts an invitation to a repast, or the bestowal of a gift

[64] Three kinds of prevention of pain which would make up the eight, have been for some reason omitted by Abul Fazl, and he has accounted for only fifty-five out of the sixty topics The remainder are partly included in those mentioned, and may be seen in Colebooke, and in Dr Garbe s translation of Aniruddha's Commentary

on him, and manifesting a desire of knowledge and success in obtaining it.

PATANJALA

The founder of this system was the sage Patanjali [65] With regard to the predicaments and the nature of proof and other points, he follows the Sānkhya, but he acknowledges a Supreme Being whom he holds to be absolute existence and intelligence. The creation[66] of the five subtile elements (*tanmātra*), he believes to proceed directly from intellect (*mahat*) without the intermediate agency of *ahankāra* (conciousness) From *vaikrita ahankāra* (modified consciousness), when the mode of goodness prevails, the five external senses are produced, and from *taijasa ahankāra,* (ardent consciousness), when the mode of passion is predominant, the five organs of action (*karmendriya*) arise, and from the combined

[65] For Patanjali, see Hastings, ix 670, and for *Yoga sutra* also vii 565 The *Yoga sutra* has been translated into English with a commentary, by Dr R L Mitra The accounts of this philosopher and grammarian are like those of the founders of the preceding systems, meagre and legendary The period in which he flourished is disputed But though the antiquity of the system is undoubted, it is not the case with the text-books which are, of all the systems, of later date than Buddha The Yoga Sutra takes for granted the twenty-five categories of the Sānkhya as the basis of its doctrine and copies some of its aphorisms *verbatim* I have previously mentioned the common references to each other of the text-books of the other schools The çardinal difference between the Sānkhya and the Yoga lies in their theistic and atheistic belief, and hence, it is that the Hindus call the Yoga the *Sesvara Sānkhya* or theistical, as opposed to the atheistical or *Nirisvara Sānkhya*

[66] The punctuation in the text is incorrect and misleading and must be altered in accordance with the translation The physical substratum of consciousness is affected by the modes like every other emanation of Prakriti From the influence of goodness , it produces the ten organs and the *manas* which are called good , because of their utility but it is only when affected by the mode 'darkness' that inanimate matter is created The passion-mode, (*taijasa*) ardent or glowing, being the exciting mode, must co-operate in the production of all Davies, p 60 The Supreme Being with this system is a soul untouched by affliction, action, fruit or stock of desert, who of his own will assumed a body to create *Sarva Darsana Sangraha.* He facilitates according to Dr Mitra the attainment of liberation, but does not directly grant it and though the creator of the world is absolutely unconnected with it

influence of goodness and passion springs *manas* or mind. They believe that the subtile frame (*sukshma sarira*) is subject to extinction, but receives new birth when another body is produced until final liberation is accomplished But this is not attained without Yoga which is the cardinal doctrine of this attractive system The thinking principle, *Chitta,*[67] is the substrate of *manas* *Vritti* (function), is the action of *manas* in the acquisition of good and evil qualities *Nirodha* (suppression) is the restraint of those functions in action and the attainment of quiescence Yoga or meditation is then secured when the root of desire is obstructed from advance Certain means to this end are laid down, and I here make a brief abstract in the hope that it may prove of value to the heart-stricken in the path of search It is said that through the union with *Mahat* (Intellect) of *manas* and the three qualities, five conditions or states of the thinking principle arise which are called the five stages (*bhumi*) These are, (1) *kshipta,* (restless activity), the heart from the predominance of passion being never at rest. (2) *mudha* (bewildered), from excess of darkness, being quiescent without attaining the object sought (3) *vikshipta* (voluptuousness), from excess of the quality of goodness, the goal is reached and a certain repose is secured, but through excess of passion (*rajas*), this is not lasting, and the mind becomes dissipated (4) *Ekāgra* (concentration), through excess of goodness, power is obtained to keep the mind from wandering from the subject of meditation (5) *Niruddha* (the suppressive state) is a condition in which by dissolution of the three qualities, the mental *residua* (*anamneisis*) of active volition are effaced and (those of) the quiescent or suppressive state arise [68]

[67] This is the same as the Sānkhya *mahat* and the Buddhist *buddhi*, or what Schopenhauer understands by Will, the absolute existence from which primordial root all organic and inorganic being proceed

[68] I read *numaid* for *namānd* The definition of the suppressive state seems to apply to what is called "suppressive modification" (*nirodhaparināma*) thus defined by the Panchchheda Bhāshya "the

Under the first three conditions, Yoga or meditation, is rarely obtained. They assert that under the first condition *manas* is the recipient of unrighteousness · [90] under the second, of ignorance, under the third, of sensuousness (*avirāga*) and impotence (*anaisvarya*), under the fourth, of virtue, (*dharma*), absence of passion (*virāga*), and supernatural power (*aisvarya*), and under the fifth, the *residua* of good and evil are suppressed and functions (*vritti*), are dissolved These latter are of two kinds, *klishti* (painful), tendency to evil works, and *aklishti*, tendency to good works and each according to its good or evil tendency is five-fold (1) *Pramāna-vritti* (right notion), perception of things by proof is attained through prevalence of *sattva* (goodness), (2) *viparyaya*, (misconception) arises from prevalence of goodness and darkness If this abides in the person forming a definite conclusion it is called *viparīti*, (perverted) but if he be in uncertainty whether a thing be itself or some thing else, it is called *sansaya*, doubt, (3) *vikalpa* (fancy),[69] ambiguity regarding a thing, arising from goodness and darkness, (4) *nidrā* (sleep), the state of sleep arising from excess of darkness in which consciousness is lost [70] The opinion of other Hindu philosophers is

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residua of the waking state are the attributes of the thinking principle, but they are not intelligent The *residua* of suppression produced by the intelligence of the suppressive state, are also the attributes of the thinking principle On the overthrow and success (prevalence) of the two, the *residua* of the waking state are put down and those of the suppressive state rise up, and there is then a correlation of the thinking principle, and the changes thus constantly occurring in a thinking principle is suppressive modification " Dr Mitra deserves, "The theory is, that every image, shape, or idea exists from eternity in a latent form, circumstances make it manifest and when those circumstances are over it *reverts* to its former condition ' This is in fact that Platanic notion of ideas, and their objective reality either *ante rem* as eternal archetypes in the divine intelligence or *in re*, as forms inherent in matter This formed in the 12th century, the Realist side of the controversy with Plato and Aristotle, against the Nominalists with Zeno

[69] "A notion without reference to the real character of the object " Dr Mitra

[70] The aphorism is, "sleep is that function (of the thinking principle) which has for its object the conception of nothing" that

that the mind is withdrawn from its peculiar association with the senses, (5) *smriti* (memory), is the recovery through the influence of goodness of what has passed from the mind. In the fourth state, the second, third and fourth functions cease and in the fifth, the first and fifth are dissolved[1] and final liberation is attained

Although this sublime contingency does not occur save by prosperous fortune and the divine favour, yet the sagacity of the experienced base its acquisition on twelve principles

I Meditation on the divinity (*Isvara-upāsanā*), that is, to illuminate the interior spirit by constant thought of God and to be conscious of its freedom from four things, afflictions, works, deserts, desires *Klesa* (affliction) signifies the sum of grief and pain, and this is five-fold: (1) *avidyā*, ignorance of the reality of things (2) *asmitā* (egotism), conceiving oneself to possess that which one has not (3) *raga*, desire for one's own gratification: (4) *dvesha*, aversion, or anger (5) *abhinivesa* (ardent attachment to life), fear of death *Karma* (works), signifies merit and demerit (from works) *Vipāka*, (deserts), the recompense of actions *Asaya*, thought regarding merits and demerits which after effacement may recur

[91] Those who have reached the goal in this path, assert that assiduous meditation on God after this manner, annihilates all evil propensities and exterminates nine depredators of the road These are (1) *vyādhi, sickness* (2) *styāna* (langour), indisposition (of the thinking principle) to efficacious work (3) *sansaya*, doubt regarding the (practicable) means of meditation and its results (4) *pramāda* (carelessness), forgetfulness of the duties of meditation: (5) *ālasya*, slothfulness in the performance of these duties, (6) *avirati*, (worldly mindedness), propensity (of the thinking principle) to enjoy the pleasures of the world: (7) *bhrānti-darsana*, error in per-

this is a function of the thinking principle and not a mere blank is said to be proved by our recollection on arising from sleep of having slept well which could not happen without a consciousness of it *Yoga Aph*, 12

ception, (such as mistaking mother of pearl for silver)· (8) *alabdha-bhumikatva*, (non-attainment of any stage), the non-attainment of the fourth out of the five states · (9) *anavasthitatva* (instability), not abiding in the fourth stage and receding from it.

II *Sraddhā*, (inclination), zeal in following the Yoga and making it the sum of desire.

III. *Virya* (energy), seeking the fulfilment of the object sought with much eagerness.

IV *Smriti* (memory), retaining in view the transcendent advantages and great results of this devotion, and never relaxing attention.

V *Maitri* (friendliness), desiring the welfare of humanity

VI *Karunā*, (compassion), being distressed at the sorrows and affliction of mankind, and resolving to relieve them

VII *Muditā*, (gladness), being pleased in the happiness of others

VIII *Upekshā*, (indifference), avoiding the wrong-doer lest evil principles be acquired, and yet not entertaining malevolence nor rebuking him [71]

[92] IX *Samādhi*, (meditation), unity of intention and contemplation of one object

X *Prajnā* (discernment), allowing only understanding, rectitude, and the search after truth to enter the mind

XI *Vairāgya*, (dispassion), is of various kinds, its ultimate stage being detachment from all, and contentment with only the Supreme Being.

XII *Abhyāsa* (exercise), being unintermittingly assi-

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[71] This indifference is to be acquired both as to pleasure and pain, by friendliness towards the happy, compassionating the sorrowful, being content with the virtuous and neither encouraging nor reproving the vicious This condition of mind facilitates the meditation called Samādhi, in its external aspect by removing distractions, and producing concentration, through cheerfulness of mind.

duous in the control of knowledge and action till this (steadfastness) becomes habitual

In the works on this system, *Isvara-upāsanā*, *vairāgya* and *abhyasa* are treated together five separate expositions are allotted to *virya*, *sraddhā*, *smriti*, *samadhi* and *prajna*, and the four following *maitri*, *karunā*, *muditā* and *upekshā* are likewise separately discussed They have all been concurrently reviewed in this work

In this field of philosophy, Yoga is regarded as two-fold, (1) *samprajnāta-samādhi* (conscious meditation), directing the easily distracted mind to one object and gradual concentration on the ideal conception of the Divine Being, and (2) *asamprajnāta* (unconscious meditation), in which this ideal conception of the divinity ceases, and absorption in unitive communion with its essence is obtained The first is of three kinds, (1) *Grāhya-samāpatti* (Tangible Forms), meditation on one of the five gross elements With regard to the gross and subtile elements it is two-fold The latter is termed *vitarkānugati*, (attendant argumentation) and the former *vichāranugati*, (attendant deliberation) *Vitarkānugati* is of two kinds, *savitarka* (argumentative meditation), when the cogitation is regarding the relation of words to their meanings, and *nirvitarka* (non-argumentative), when it is independent of this relation *Vichārānugati* is cogitation on one of the eight principles, *viz* , nature, intellect, consciousness, and the five subtile elements If the element be considered in its relation to time and space, it is called *savichāra* (deliberative), and if otherwise *nirvichara* (non-deliberative)

II *Grahana-samapatti* (Acceptance Form), is cogitation on one of the organs of sense which with reference to time, space, and cause is termed *savitarka*, and if in regard to the inherent meaning only, *vitarka*, and [193] both kinds are called *Sānanda* (joyous) [72]

[72] The commentator explains that when the quality of goodness of the internal organ, tinctured with a little of the qualities of foul-

III. *Grihitri-samāpatti* (Form of the taker) In this stage the votary withdraws himself from all other pre-occupation, and is merged in the single contemplation of the Supreme Soul This also in relation to time and space receives the two names above-mentioned, and both kinds are termed *Asmitā* (Egotism)

Asamprajnāta is two-fold —(1) *Bhavapratyaya* (caused by the world), not distinguishing Nature from the soul, nor holding it to be separate from the elements or the organs of action and sense If Nature is cognized as soul, this meditative state is called *Prakritilaya* (resolved into nature), and if the elements and organs be so cognized, it is termed *videha*, (unembodied) (2) *Upāya-pratyaya* (means of ascertainment); by good fortune and a happy destiny, under the guidance of the twelve principles above-mentioned, the cognition of the soul is attained and the fruition of bliss secured at the desired goal where final emancipation presents itself to view

The devotees of the Yoga practice are of four classes The first, called *Prāthama kalpika*, (entering upon the course) is he who with firm resolve and steadfast foot enters upon this waste of mortification The second, *Madhubhumika* (in the honey-stage), is he who by mortification of the senses and right conduct, effaces rust from the mirror of the heart to such degree that he can divine the reflections in another's mind and see whatever from its minuteness is imperceptible to others The third, *Prajnājyotis* (illuminated), by happy fortune and zealous endeavour subdues the organs of sense and the elements, and the far and the near, with reference to sight and hearing, &c , become relatively the same to him, and he acquires power to create and destroy The fourth, *Atikrānta bhāvaniya* (attaining the highest dispassion), is one to whom the past becomes present

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ness and darkness, is pondered, then consciousness being under the influence of goodness becomes *Sānanda* or joyous *Yoga Aphorisms*, p 18

It is said that conscious meditation consists of eight particulars and these are, as it were, intrinsic parts thereof, in contradistinction to the twelve principles which are accounted extrinsic means They are called *Ashtānga-Yoga* (meditation on eight particular parts of the body) [94] These are — (1) *Yama*, (2) *Niyama*, (3) *Asana*, (4) *Prānāyāma*, (5) *Pratyāhāra*, (6) *Dhārana*, (7) *Dhyāna*, (8) *Samādhi*

Yama, restraint, is five-fold —(1) *Ahinsā* (non-slaughter), avoiding destruction of life and injury (to others) When this habit is formed, in a devotee, enemies are conciliated (2) *Satya* (veracity) is the habitual practice of speaking the truth, and thus securing acceptance of his desires[73] (3) *Asteya*, (non-theft), the non-appropriation of goods beyond what is customarily permitted the keys of the world's treasures are entrusted to the observer of this principle (4) *Brahmacharya* (continence), to abtain from women, by which means the ignorant will be able to light the lamp of knowledge from the inspired efficacy of his will. (5) *Aparigraha* (non-avarice), retaining nothing of worldly goods which, being regarded as the capital source of pain, should be abandoned and by this the future will be revealed

Niyama (obligation), is also five-fold —(1) *Saucha* (purification), internal and external purity, avoiding association with men, and acquiring self-control (by this means) the mind is rendered essentially stainless, commendable desires bear fruit, and the fourth state is reached (2) *Santosha* (contentedness), desisting from improper desires and being satisfied with the fulfilment of this excellent devotion Happiness is thus obtained and worldly pleasures have no relish (3) *Tapas*, (penance), mortification of the spirit and body and enduring heat, cold, hunger, thirst, and silence, until all five afflictions are effaced from the tablet of the mind Through this practice the votary gains the faculty of seeing

[73] Another reading runs 'and thus desires cease to be inclined to evil'

things distant, concealed or minute and can assume any form at will (4) *Svādhyāya* (sacred study), repetition of the names of the deity, and recounting his attributes and all that is condusive to liberation. If there is inability to read, then by the constant repetition of the word *Omkāra*,[74] the deities and other celestial spirits associate with him and vouchsafe him their assistance [95] (5) *Isvara pranidhāna* (devotion to God), is absolute resignation to the will of God, by this means various faculties of knowledge are acquired and illumination regarding all the degrees of perfection is attained

Asana (posture), signifies sitting The austere recluses of this temple of retirement, give the number of these as eighty-four, of which thirteen are esteemed the most efficacious, and each has a special mode and a separate name Under their influence, cold, heat, hunger and thirst are little felt Some learned Hindu authorities reckon the same number of sitting attitudes for those who are still attached to worldly concerns but of a different kind The writer of these pages who has witnessed many of these postures, has gazed in astonishment, wondering how any human being could subject his muscles, tendons and bones in this manner to his will.

Prānāyāma, regulation of the breath at will, is threefold —(1) *Puraka* (inspiration), drawing in the breath by the nose in the following manner with the thumb of the right hand let the left nostril be closed and the breath slowly inspired by the right nostril (2) *Kumbhaka*[75] (suspension),

[74] The abbrevivated form of this ejaculatory prayer, *Om*, is a combination of three letters a, u, m invested with a peculiar sanctity According to Wilson (*Vish Pur*) it is typical of the three spheres of the world, the three steps of Vishnu, &c , and in the Vedas is said to comprehend all the gods, and one text of the Vedas, 'Om, the monosyllable Brahma,' is cited in the *Vayu Purāna* which devotes a whole chapter to this term, as signifying by the latter word, either the Supreme Being or the Vedas collectively, of which the monosyllable is the type

[75] This term is derived from *kumbha*, a jar, because the vital air at that time remains quiescent as water in a jar Hastings, *Ency* ix 490-492, long discussion of *Om*

to retain the breath within and to make as long an inspiration as possible closing both nostrils with the thumb and little finger of the right hand The ascetics of this country can so hold their breath that they will breathe but once in twelve years (3) *Rechaka* (expiration), letting out the drawn breath, very gradually, with the thumb pressed below the right nostril and removing the little finger from the left nostril, suffering it to escape In short, to inspire with the right and expire with the left nostril These three functions constitute the *Prāṇāyāma* It is said that the breath extends as far as sixteen fingers from the nose, and some say twelve By this operation the mind is quiescent, and perfect knowledge is obtained, but this is secured only through the assistance of an experienced master of this knowledge

At this time the devotee should abstain from meat, hot spices and acid and saline food, and be content with a little milk and rice He must also avoid the society of women lest his brain be distracted and melancholy ensue

Pratyāhāra (abstraction), is the withdrawal of the five senses from their respective objects of perception When the mind is quiescent, these perforce cannot escape Thus objects may present themselves before him without exciting desire

Dhārana (steadiness), is the confinement of the thinking principle to one place, such as the navel, the crown of the head, between the eyebrows, the point of the nose, or the tip of the tongue

Dhyāna (contemplation), is uninterrupted reflection on what is before the mind, and the absence of every thing but the object, the thought, and the thinking principle of the individual contemplating

[96] *Samādhi* (meditation),[70] in this the thinker and the consciousness of thought are both effaced At this stage the

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[70] This is a more advanced stage of contemplation than *Dhyāna* in which the ideas of objects other than the one in view are suppressed, but not altogether effaced In *samādhi* the effacement

degrees of conscious meditation are surmounted and unconscious meditation begins, till perfect knowledge is attained and Yoga is finally reached This condition is called *Samādhi*

The first and second of these eight processes are likened to the sowing of seed in a field the third and fourth are as the commencement of growth the fifth is the flower the sixth, seventh and eighth are regarded as the stages of fructification

The last-named three-fold acts are termed *Sanyama*[77] At this period, the most extraordinary powers are witnessed in the adept which astonish the beholder

The occult powers are termed *Aisvarya* and are eight in number

(1) *Animā* (molecularity), the power of minute disintegration so as to pass through the tissues of a diamond (2) *Mahimā* (illimitability), capacity of prolongation so as to touch the moon (3) *Laghimā* (tenuity), to possess such extreme levity as to ascend to the upper regions on a beam of light (4) *Garima* (gravity) to acquire illimitable ponderosity In some works the word *Prāpti* (accessibility), is used for the fourth term, and signifies to reach to any point at will (5) *Prākamya* (irresistible will), to sink into the earth and to rise up elsewhere as if in water (6) *Isitva* (sovereignty), the power of creating or destroying (7) *Vasitva* (subjugation), to command the elements and their products (8) *Kāmāvasāyitva* (self-control), the fulfilment of every wish

Although this language may seem incredible in the eyes of those affected by the taint of narrow custom, those who

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is complete, and thinking merges into thought which is the sole residuum The body is then in a state of catalepsy or trance, and is not influenced by external objects *Yoga Aph.*, p 124

[77] The word is derived from the intensive particle *sam* prefixed to *yama*, restraint, and means vow, binding or confinement, and indicates three means of accomplishing the Yoga *Yoga Aph*, p 125

acknowledge the wonderful power of God will find in it no cause of astonishment

The doctrines of this great system are comprised in one *Adhyāya* or section, divided into four *charana,* (feet or) chapters The first is an exposition of the nature of Yoga meditation The second on the means of its acquirement. The third, on the wonders of the occult powers The fourth on the liberation of the soul

CHAPTER V

JAINA

[97] The founder of this wonderful system was Jina, called also Arhat[1] or Arhant With regard to the Supreme Being, and the doctrines of voluntary actions, rewards, punishments, hell and heaven, they follow the Mimāmsā and the Sānkhya In *Svar-loka* twenty-six degrees are assigned to the last mentioned abode (heaven) in three groups of twelve, nine and five, in the highest of which dwell the most perfect among the chosen of God. Bodies are believed to be compounded of indivisible atoms The four elements are composed of homogeneous atoms, and the substrate of each element is different The world regarded in its atoms is eternal, but non-eternal in its form Existence takes place on the union of five principles —(1) *Niyata* (crude matter) potentiality of cause (2) *Kāla*, determinate time (3) *Svabhāva*

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[1] For the Jaina philosophy, Hastings, vii 465-574, x 493-495 (purification), and xii 799-80 (worship) The Jains take this name from the term Jina, a deified Saint, a being worthy of universal adoration and having subdued all passions, equivalent to Arhat, Jinesvara, Tirthankara and other synonyms of this incarnate being Colebrooke (*Essay*, II, 171) mentions 24 Jinas or Arhats, who have appeared in the present Avasarpini age The most celebrated of the Jinas was Parsvanatha of the race of Ikshwāku and is thought by Colebrooke and Lassen to be the real founder of the sect The last Jina, was Vardhamāna named also Vira Mahavira &c His life and institutions form the subject of the Kalpa Sutra translated both by Stevenson (very faultily according to Weber), and Jacobi They deny with the Bauddhas or Saugatas, the divine authority, of the Vedas and admit like the Sankhya philosophy, the eternity of matter and the perpetuity of the world Their avoidance of injury to life is wellknown Like the Buddhists they are divided into a clerical body, *Yatis* or ascetics, and laity, *Sravakas*, (hearers) and observe the rules of caste without attaching any religious significance to it

Hermann Jacobi in his preface to the *Jaina Sutras*, with Colebrooke and Stevenson asserts the independent rise of the Jaina creed against the combined authority of Lassen, Wilson, Weber and Barth, who derive it from Buddhism This point is discussed in Hastings, *Ency*, ii 495-496.

inherent nature (4) *Atmā* the rational soul (5) *Purvakrita*, the result of good and evil in former births Some Hindu philosophers ascribe the creation to God, some to Time, and others to the results of actions, and others again to inherent nature (*svabhāba*) Their belief is that the whole universe will not perish, but that some of every kind will survive from the whirlwind of non-existence whence creation will be renewed

This sect allow only two predicaments —*Pramāna* (proof) and *Prameya* (objects of thought) The first of these is two-fold —(1) *Pratyaksha*, perception by the five external senses, and by the mind and the soul The Nyāya, applies this term to the means by which perfect knowledge is obtained (2) *Paroksha* (imperceptibility), knowledge obtained not mediately through the senses

Pratyaksha (perception) is two-fold (1) *Vyavahārika* (conventional, or practical) this is acquired by the five senses and *manas*, is employed in external affairs, and called *mati-jnāna* (mind-knowledge) This is also two-fold, namely, that which (α) is apprehended through the five senses, and (β) apprehended through *manas* (mind), which this sect does not include among the five senses, and each of these two again is four-fold (1) *Avagraha*, distinguishing from the type whether it be horse or man but not discerning the characteristics (2) *Iha* inquiring, as to whence the man, and from what country the horse (3) *Avāya* arriving at a correct identification of the above [98] (4) *Dhārana*, recollecting the thing particularised and keeping it in mind (II) *Pāramārthika* (transcendental), knowledge that comes from the illumination of the rational soul and is profitable to emancipation It is two-fold *viz* *Vikala* (defective), knowing some thing and not knowing some other and *Sakala*, (entire), knowing all, called also *Kevala-jnāna* (pure unalloyed knowledge). *Vikala* is again subdivided into *Avadhi-jnāna* (limited knowledge), knowledge of special objects which near or remote,

are not differentiated,[2] and *Manas-paryāya-jnāna*, definite knowledge of another's thoughts and the laying bare of the secrets of the heart [3]

Parokṣha (imperceptibility) is five-fold (1) *Smarana*, recollection of what is unseen (2) *Praty-abhijnāna*, knowledge derived from witness of another (3) *Tarka*, the knowledge of the mutual relation between subject and predicate (4) *Anumāna*, knowledge from inference, which is established in a series of ten terms, given in detail (5) *Sabda*, the knowledge obtained from the narration of a speaker without partiality or affection, of clear understanding and true in speech.

Prameya (objects of thought) are six-fold and each is regarded as an eternal substance, and not an aggregate of a determinate measure of atoms, they are likewise held to be imperceptible to the eye and pervade all space The first is the soul which is a subtile substance in which intelligence abides It is to the body as the light of a lamp to a house and is believed to be the active agent, or passive recipient of good and evil It is, of two kinds, *Parātmā* and *Jivātmā* The first is restricted to the Supreme Being and is distinguished by four attributes *Ananta-jnāna* or analytic knowledge extending to the most minute atoms *Ananta-darsana* or synthetic knowledge of things collectively *Ananta-virya*, infinite power *Ananta-sukha*, infinite happiness

They do not accept the doctrine of divine incarnations but believe that a man by virtue becomes omniscient, and his utterances in regard to the things appertaining to the spiritual and temporal life are the word of God, and such a one is termed *Sākāra-Paramesvara* (Divinity in bodily form) [99] In the six *aras*,[4] of which mention has been made in a previous

[2] That is, the abolition of hindrances causes their right intuition

[3] By the absence of all envy, by sympathy and the like

[4] These are the six periods into which each of the Utsarpini and Avasarpini ages are divided Their names are given in Major Mackenzie's account of the Jains in Vol IX *As Research*, p 257,

section, twenty-four such beings come into existence, and in the third and fourth, their earthly existence terminates.[5]

The first being of this series was *Adināṭha*, and the last, *Mahāvira* Each of them is named a Jina, and wonderful legends are told of them which will be briefly noted later on The Supreme Being is called *Nirguna Paramesvara*, or the Deity without qualities

Jivātmā (soul) is variously distinguished. It may be two-fold, *viz*, locomotive and immovable, as a man or tree or three-fold, as man, woman, hermaphrodite or four-fold, namely, forms of men, of vegetable life, of beings of heaven, and those of hell or five-fold, possessing but one sense, [touch] as the four elements and trees And these also are of two kinds (1) such as can be seen, (2) such as are too minute to be perceptible Each of these (last) five possesses life and has the sense of touch There are those that possess (at least) two senses, touch and taste, such as shell-fish, leeches &c, those with three, as the ant which has the additional sense of hearing those of four, *viz* flies and wasps which to the above three senses, add that of sight those of five, mankind There is a further division of soul into two kinds,[6] those possessing an internal sense and such as are without it, as a leaf The Nyāya school also hold this opinion Since the first and the fifth are of two kinds, animal life collectively does not exceed seven, and each may be classed

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[5] The periodical creations and destructions of the world form part of the Pauranic legends and of the Jaina creed The heavens and earth in general are supposed to be eternal but this portion of the earth, Arya or Bharata is liable to destruction and renovation

[6] More correctly the division of souls is into mundane' and released The mundane' pass from birth to birth and are divided into two, those possessing an internal sense (*samanaska*) and those destitute of it (*amanaska*) The former possess *samjnā*, the power of apprehension, talking, acting or receiving instruction, and the latter are without this power These last are again divided into the locomotive and immovable Those that possess only the one sense of touch are considered as 'released, as incapable of passing into any other state of existence (Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras*, 5n)

under two heads: (1) *Prajā-pati* possessor of six powers, namely, of bodily form, of reception of food, of organs of sense, of the powers of speech, of breathing, and the internal sense (*manas*) (2) *Aprajāpati*, life which is incapable of these functions All that possess but one sense, have four faculties, *viz*, capability of nourishment, assuming form, command of the organs of sense, inspiration and expiration of breath. All that possess two, three, four or five senses, without the internal sense, have five faculties, *viz*, the four former and that of speech Those that possess the internal sense have six faculties

They consider the conjunction in the soul of ten qualities, entitles it to be called living, otherwise it is dead, they are severally called *prāna, viz*, the five senses, the internal sense, faculty of speech, reception of form, inspiration of breath, duration of life. Those that possess five senses are of four classes (1) *Devatā* (celestial spirit), (2) *Manusha* (man), (3) *Nāraki* (inhabitant of the infernal regions), (4) *Tiryagyoni* (animal creation). The *Devatā* is formed of a subtile luminous substance by the volition of the Deity, without the process of birth Their bodies are not of flesh and bone, nor defiled by impurities, and their breathings are redolent of fragrance They suffer not from maladies, nor does age steal away the freshness of youth [100] Whatever they desire is fulfilled, they can assume a thousand shapes, and they move at four fingers' breadth above the surface of the earth They are of four classes —

1 *Bhavana-pati* The Jainas believe the earth to consist of seven tiers superimposed one above the other The earth inhabited by mankind includes a space of 180,000 *yojanas* The intervening region between one thousand *yojanas* and as many below, is the location of the *Bhavana*

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[*] These ten are the progeny of *Asuras*, Serpents, *Garuda*, *Dikpālas*, Fire, Air, the Ocean, Thunder and Lightning, who are

patis. They are of ten[7] orders, each governed by two rulers, one for the northern, the other for the southern region. The colour, appearance, raiment, food and modes of life of each are separate Their duration of life extends between a minimum of ten thousand and a maximum of an ocean (*sāgara*) of years, and this is considered the lowest order of all

2 *Vyantara* These inhabit a region extending between a thousand *yojanas* above and a hundred below, and they pass likewise into the sphere allotted to men They are of sixteen orders, each governed by two rulers Their age extends from ten thousand years to one *palyopāma*.

3 *Jyotishka* Their location is seven hundred and ninety *yojanas* above the level of the earth, and one hundred and ten *yojanas* is its eastern limit They consist of five orders (of luminaries), the first are stars the second, suns throned at a distance of ten *yojanas* above the stars the third are moons, eighty *yojanas* higher than the suns the fourth, constellations of twenty-eight mansions the fifth, planets at an altitude of four *yojanas* above the mansions, eighty-eight in number Of these the five most important are Mercury, Venus, Jupiter, Mars and Saturn with an interval of three *yojanas* in altitude between them severally The duration of life of each of the five, ranges between the eighth part of a *palya* at the lowest, to one *palya* and a hundred thousand years as an extreme limit

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supposed to reside in the several hells or regions below the earth The Vyantaras have eight orders These are the *Pisāchas* *Bhutas*, *Kinnaras*, *Gandharvas* and other monstrous divinities inhabiting woods, and the lower regions and air The third has five orders the Sun, Moon, Planets, Asterisms and other heavenly bodies The fourth includes the gods of present and past *Kalpas* Of the first kind are those born in the Heavens *Saudharma Isāna*, *Mahendra*, *Brahmā Sanatkumāra*, *Sukra*, &c., to the number of twelve A great number of *Indras* are recognised, but *Sukra* and *Isāna* the regents of the North and South are chief Above all these rank in dignity as objects of worship the twenty-four *Tirthankaras* or with those of the past and future periods, seventy-two Wilson (*Essays*, I, 320)

4. *Vaimānika*. Their abode is the highest of all, and they are of two orders The first, *kalpupapanna,* (existing age), dwell in the twelve zones of heaven each with a special presiding deity, but four have (only) two regents. These ten principalities possess ten illustrious distinctions, (1) a just prince, (2) a capable minister, (3) a benevolent sage, (4) loyal counsellors, (5) sword bearers, (6) guards, (7) commanders of seven armies of elephants, horses, chariots, bulls, footmen, sword players and musicians, (8) administrators of state, (9) news reporters, and (10) sweepers This sublime order is said to dwell at a little less than the distance of a *rāju*[8] in altitude The second order is *kalpatita* (past age) They do not occupy themselves with others, but keep aloof from friendship, enmity, governance and subjection, and are engaged only in contemplation of the Deity Above these again are twelve abodes of rest in nine tiers, one above another, and five others like a face, two above, and one below and one between, making fourteen tiers in all.

[101] They consider the world to be composed of three spheres [9] (1) *Manusha-loka,* nine hundred *yojanas* from the

[8] A measure of space through which the gods are able to travel in six months at the rate of 2,05,7152 *Yojanas* of 2,000 *Krosa* each in the twinkling of an eye Colebrooke, II, 198, but Abul Fazl gives another measure lower down

[9] The world, writes Colebrooke, (*Essays*, II, 198) which according to the Jains is eternal, is figured by them as a spindle resting on half of another, or as three cups of which the lowest is inverted and the uppermost meets at its circumference the middle one The spindle above is the abode of the gods, and the inferior part of the figure comprehends the infernal regions The earth which they suppose to be a flat surface, is bounded by a circle of which the diameter is one *rāju* The lower spindle comprises seven tiers of inferior earths or hells, at the disance of a *raju* from each other and its base is measured by seven *rājus*

The upper spindle is also seven *rajus* high and its greatest breadth is five *rājus* Its summit which is 4,500,000 *yojanas* wide, is the abode of the deified saints beneath this are five *Vimānas* or abodes of gods The earth consists of numerous distinct continents in concentric circles separated by seas forming ways between them of which the first is *Jambu-dwipa* with the mountain *Meru* in the centre

lowest extremity of the earth to nine hundred above This is the sphere of men The earth is said to be one *rāju* in length and the same in breadth, and within 4,500,000 *yojanas* of this space, mankind dwell Below this is (2) *Patāla-loka* Its extent is nine hundred *yojanas* less than seven *rājus* The second is twice the size of the first, and to each tier is added a *raju* so that the seventh is something less than seven *rājus* (3) *Svarga-loka* is the celestial region, and is a little less than seven *rājus* high Its inhabitants possess five organs of sense Among them the *Vaimānikas* dwell in twenty-six orders which represent paradise They attain to these bodies and enjoy happiness through good works Eight orders of *Vaimānikas* dwell within five *rājus*, and four in the sixth *rāju* Fourteen orders of the inferior class occupy one *raju* A *raju* is the distance traversed by an iron ball of three and a half Akbari *ser's* weight, *thrown* downwards and continuing to fall for a period of six months, six days and twelve *gharis* It is said that for six *karoh* [*krosa*] above the twenty-six orders aforesaid, there is a circular area like crystal Its length is 4,500,000 *yojanas* and its breadth the same, with a height of eight *yojanas* After traversing a distance of three and five-sixth of a *Karoh* upwards, the sacred haven of final liberation is reached where men are absorbed in the divinity as light in light

The ages of the gods extend from something less than a *palyopama* to not more than a *Sāgara* The four classes of deities including two orders of the *Vaimānikas* have a stature of seven cubits, the third and fourth are of six cubits, the fifth and sixth, of five, the seventh and eighth, of four, from the ninth to the twelfth, of three, from the thirteenth to the twenty-first of two, and from the twenty-second to the twenty-sixth of one cubit, but all of them possess the power of assuming various shapes All the deities are said to have the desire of food, but it is not taken by the mouth, as they are satisfied by mere volition Each of the deities who arrives at the age

of ten thousand years, requires food every other day, and breathes once during the time in which a healthy man would breath forty-nine times. Those whose age extends beyond this term to one *Sāgara*, eat once between a minimum and maximum of three and nine days and breathe once between four and eighteen *gharis*. Those who live beyond the period of a *Sāgara*, eat once after a thousand years, and breathe once in fifteen days. Such as live to a still greater term than this, for each *Sāgara*, allow upwards of a thousand years to elapse before they touch food, and in the same proportion of time, increasing intervals of fifteen days pass before a breath is drawn. They also believe that all the deities including two orders of the fourth class, (the *Vaimānika*), have sexual intercourse after the manner of mankind, but pregnancy does not take place; the third and fourth orders by conjunction and the sense of touch; the fifth and sixth by sight, and the seventh and eighth, by hearing; four other orders, by mere effort of imagination, while fourteen orders of the second class are innocent of this intercourse. These are said to attain to this eminence by good works. Extraordinary legends are told of these beings, of which let this little from among much be a sufficiency.

The mundane (*manushya*), consists of (souls) of two kinds :—(1) *Samjna*, possessing the power of apprehension, and (2) *Asamjna*, without power of apprehension. The latter appear (as animalcula) in the flesh, blood and saliva of men and do not live more than the space of two *gharis*. The *Samjna* class is sub-divided into two. The Jainas apportion the earth into two parts, and assign one to each division. In the first, commands and prohibitions are in full force, and happiness and misery are the recompense of good and evil actions. Fifteen considerable portions of the earth are allotted to this division.

The Jainas believe that during the six *aras*, the extent of which has been mentioned in a former section, twelve

Chakravartis successively appear Thirty-two thousand kingdoms are beneath his sway, and thirty-two thousand princes are subject to him He possesses 8,400,000 elephants and as many horses and chariots He has likewise fourteen thousand ministers of state, nine hundred and thirty millions of footmen, eighty thousand sages, three hundred thousand cuirassiers, five hundred thousand torch-bearers, thirty millions of musicians, sixty-four thousand wedded wives, one hundred and twenty-eight thousand female slaves, sixteen thousand mines of gems, nineteen thousand mines of gold and twenty-eight thousand of other minerals, sixteen thousand provinces of barbarians (*mlechchhas*), that is, of races foreign to his institutions, thirty-two thousand capital cities, sixteen thousand royal residencies, three hundred and sixty millions of cooks for the royal table, and three hundred and sixty for his private service Many other endowments are attributed to him The first cycle of these began with Rājā Bharata (*Chakravarti*), son of Adināthа Some of these on account of their good works, are translated to heaven while others go down to hell They assert that nine other individuals are born, entitled *Vāsudevas*, which is a rank possessing half the powers of a *Chakravarti*, and they believe that these dignitaries descend into a hell, and that Krishna is among their number Nine other persons, designated *Baladevas*, are said to exist who possess half the powers of a *Vāsudeva* Over all these, the *Tirthankara*, who will be presently described, is the supreme head Much has been written regarding the denizens of this sphere

There is another extensive region, where its people have garments of the leaves of its trees[10] and their food is wild fruits or the sweet verdure produced by its soil They are beautiful of countenance and pleasing in disposition Their stature varies from one to three *karoh*, in height. One son or

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[10] These are the *kalpa-vrikhas* or celestial trees of which Major Mackenzie mentions nine varieties Their gradual disappearance portends the destruction of the world.

daughter is born to them after which they die They are called *Juglyah*[11] and when they grow to adolescence, they marry, and their duration of life extends from one to three *palyopama*

It is said that those who have not been charitable in deed, nor practised good works, pass after death among this race, and obtain the recompense thereof and bear no burden of pain

The *Nārakis*, like the *devatās*, can assume various shapes and many of their conditions, but their aspect is terrible and always in dejection and gloom In the six degrees in which hell is said to be divided, they are agitated in burning torment, and though in agony are ever maleficent and from innate wickedness torture each other

The class called *Bhavana-pati* have ingress to three degrees of this sphere and are the ministers of chastisement to these fiends The stature of the dwellers in the first degree is from three to thirty one cubits and six fingers, and their age between ten thousand years and one *Sāgara* The stature of those in the second degree is double that of the first, and this proportion of increase runs through the remaining degrees the duration of life in the second degree is from one to three *Sāgaras* The age of the denizens of the third degree extends from a minimum of three *Sāgaras* and attains to a maximum of seven of the fourth, from seven to ten, of the fifth, to seventeen, of the sixth, to twenty-two, and of the seventh, to thirty-three

Tiryagyoni signifies the rest of the animal creation and is three-fold —(1) aquatic, (2) terrestrial, (3) aerial The first named order is five-fold, *viz*, (1) acquatic animals like the *Susmār*,[12] which resemble men, elephants and horses etc ,

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[11] For Prākrit, *Jugala*, Sanskrit, *Yugala*, a pair, turned into adjectival form

[12] Derived from the Sanskrit *Sisumāra* (child-killing), the Gangetic porpoise in Persian it commonly means a species of lizard *Karāh*, probably some kind of eel

(2) fishes of various kinds, (3) the tortoise, (4) the *Karāh*, an animal in the shape of a tent-rope, four yards long and more, which twines itself round the legs of elephants and other animals and prevents their getting out of the water (5) the crocodile

The second order is of three kinds quadrupeds like cattle those that creep on their bellies, as snakes and such as can move upon two feet like the weasel

The third order is of four kinds two domesticated with man, *viz*, whose pinions are of feathers, like the pigeon, or of skin, like the bat, and two others that fly in the blissful abodes of the gods, each of which is described with its peculiar characteristics, and many circumstances are related of them The duration of life in the first class is from two *gharis* to one *purva* which is equal to seventy krors of lakhs and fifty-six thousand krors of years (70,560,000,000,000) The second and third classes in their minimum are like the first, but the second does not extend beyond three *palyopama*, while the third has no determinate limit They assert that the duration of age among such as have but one sense, if formed of the subtile elements, is two *gharis*, and the gross body of the earth does not endure above twenty-two thousand years, nor that of water, above seven thousand, nor of fire, above three days, nor of wind, above three thousand years Such as have two organs of sense live twelve years, such as possess three organs, forty-nine days, and four organs, six months The animal creation possessing five organs of sense together with mankind have a life of three *palyopama*, while the *Nārakis* and *devatās* live thirty-three *Sāgaras* but not beyond this term

In the interchange of embodiment of these four classes, they allow twenty-four habitations to the soul which enters into air, fire, water, earth, the vegetable creation of two, three and four organs of sense, quadrupeds born of the womb, the ten classes of the infernal regions, the *Bhavanapati*,

Vyantara, Jyotishka, Vaimānika, men and *devatas* After death, [104] it enters into one of the following five, *viz*, mankind, the animal creation with five organs of sense, water, earth, and vegetable forms The souls of men may come and go through twenty-two forms and when they pass into air or fire, no more assume human shape Hell-bodies may assume two forms, those of men or of animals with five senses born of the womb, and their lives like those of the *Juglyah* class are not of any considerable length, nor do they ever enter paradise Those of the seventh degree of hell, do not even enter human bodies, but each of the (other) three kinds of animals having five organs of sense, have entry and exit through all the twenty-four habitations

The arithmeticians of this sect apply the term *laksha* to one hundred thousand, which the vulgar pronounce *lakh* Ten *lakhs* make a *prayuta,* and ten *prayutas* are termed a *koti,* called generally a *kror* One hundred *krors* make an *arba* (Sansk *arbuda*), and ten *arba* or *kharba,* and ten *kharbas* a *nikharba,* ten *nikharbas,* a *mahā-saroja,*[13] called also *padma.* Ten *padmas* make a *S'ankha,* ten *S'ankha,* a *Samudra,* called also *Korākor*

They state that if of a seven day's child of the *Juglyah* age, the hair, being four thousand and ninety-six times as thick as the hair of the Delhi people, be taken and cut up till further sub-division be impracticable, and a well, four *karoh* in length, breadth and depth, be filled with such particles, and a single one of the aforesaid particles be taken out of the well at the expiry of each hundred years till the well be emptied, this period would constitute a *palyopama* The lapse of ten *Samudra* of a *palyopama* constitutes a *Sāgara*

Having now discussed the first of the (six) objects classed under *Prameya,* I briefly mention the other five The second,

[13] Lake-born, an epithet of the lotus which in Sanskrit is also called *padma*

Akāsa, ether, is a subtile substance, eternal and all pervading, possessing neither intelligence nor soul The third, *kāla*, time, is a substance like the preceding, but not all-pervading. It circumscribes the terrestrial abode of man. The fourth *Pudgala*[14](matter or substance), is four-fold If not divisible (atomic), nor compounded with another body, it is called *pramāna*, and if in conjunction, *pradesa* When, several *pradesas* unite, they are called *desa, and* the conjunction of several *desas* is termed *skandha* [15] The first is accounted eternal and has five qualities, colour, odour, phlegm, and two out of eight opposite states of gravity or tenuity, rigidity or softness, heat or coldness, greediness or its contrary [105] The fifth is *Dharmāstikāya*, (the predicament virtue) It is a substance by the instrumentality of which, the rational soul and mind (*manas*), and matter (*pudgala*), *are* capable of movement, as a fish by means of water The sixth is *Adharmastikāya* (the predicament vice) This is a substance, quiescent, and favourable to repose In some works there is mention of nine first principles called *tattvas*, *viz*, (1), *Jiva*,[16] soul, (2), *Ajiva*, the contrary to this, as ether, time, &c , (3), *Punya*, (4), *Pāpa* By the conjunction of a multiplicity of matter and soul-forms, joy and sorrow, ease and pain are produced and this conjunction is termed *karman* (works), and is also distinguished as *prakriti* All that is productive of virtue is

[14] Compounds sometimes arise from separation and conjunction combined and hence are called *pudgalas*, because they "fill" (*pur*) and dissolve' (*gal*) *Sarva Darsana Sangr*, p 52 Weber translates it Atom-Stoft *Fragment der Bhag*, p 236

[15] This word signifies the elements of being or the forms of mundane consciousness of which there are five in the Buddhist philosophy *Pradesa*, one of the forms of the soul s bondage, is the entrance into the different parts of the soul by the masses, made up of an endless number of parts, of the various bodies developed by the consequences of action *S Darsana*, p 56

[16] *Lebens-geist* Weber There are three descriptions of this the perfect soul of the deified saints the liberated soul and the soul in bondage *Ajiva* comprehends the four elements and all that is fixed as mountains or moveable, as rivers and is synonymous with *Pudgala*.

called *punya*, and *pāpa* is vice *Karman* is eight-fold — (1), *Jnānā-varaniya* (shrouding of knowledge), forms of matter that by their conjunction veil each of the five kinds of knowledge that have been noticed (2) *Darsana-varaniya* (shrouding of study), shrouds apprehension by the five organs of sense (3) *Vedaniya* (individual consciousness), conjunction of matter by means of which the soul is affected by joy or sorrow (4) *Mohaniya*, (producing delusion), conjunction of atoms which causes good to be mistaken for evil and the reverse (5) *Ayus* (age), conjunction of atoms on which depends the continuance of animal life (6), *Nāman*, (name), conjunction of things which is the creative complement of genus, species and individual existence (7) *Gotra* (race), the conjunction of atoms by which the soul assumes the forms of eminent and ignoble persons (8) *Antarāya* (interference), conjunction of atoms by which men abstain from works, are unable to take nourishment, have no inclination for sexual intercourse, take no profit in trade nor practise liberality or mortification

V *Asrava*[17] (flow, movement), evil actions of five kinds, *viz* bodily injury, falsehood, theft, incontinence, unbridled desire

VI *Samvara* (stopping), is abstention from the above five actions

VII *Bandha* (bondage), is the union of matter with soul

VIII *Nirjarā* is the gradual disruption of conjoined atoms by the mortification of the body [18]

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[17] This means the movement or natural impulse of the soul to act, called *Yoga* As a door opening into the water is called *Asrava*, because it causes the stream to descend, so by this impulse, the consequences of acts flow in upon the soul It is the association of the body with right or wrong deeds and comprises all the *karmans* All these eight classes of acts are mentioned in the Bhagavati v Weber s *Fragment der Bhagavati*, p 166, II

[18] *Nirjarā* is that which entirely (*nir*), wears and antiquates (*jarayati*), all sin previously incurred and the whole effect of works

IX *Moksha*, called also *mukti*, is the total disseverance of atoms, which cannot be attained without knowledge and works As when a fire takes place in the dwelling of a lame and a blind man, neither of them [106] alone can escape, but the blind man may take the lame on his back, and by the vision of the one and the movement of the other they both may reach a place of safety

It is said that without concurrence of three conditions, this great end cannot be secured · (1) knowledge of the Supreme Being (2) the acquisition of a guide who makes no distinction between praise and blame, wounding and healing (3) constancy in good works These three take rise in obedience and service, by which knowledge is gained This latter is the chief source of a passionless state (*virāga*) which annihilates the impulse (*āsvara*) of the embodied spirit, whence proceeds the closing (*samvara*) of the passage to such impulses, and this again incites men to austerity whereby they are occupied in the mortification of the spirit and the body This mortification is of twelve kinds —(1) not to eat at particular times Formerly abstinence from solid food for a whole year was practised, and by some for nine months, but in these days six months is the longest duration (2) to eat sparingly, and to beg for food from not more than five houses, and to fast till the next day if none be forthcoming, and to abstain from five things *viz*, milk, curds, butter, oil of sesame and sweets (3) mortification of the body in enduring the sun's heat (4) to take rest on hot sand (5) to endure nakedness in cold (6) to draw up the arms and legs and sit on the haunches They say that it requires a long time before these six practices can be successfully accomplished, and many fail in their performance

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It consists chiefly in mortification Bondage is that which binds the embodied spirit by association of the soul with deeds *Moksha* is its deliverance from the fetters of works, v Colebrooke I, p 407

Regarding the expiation of sins, strange penances are prescribed for each transgression, such as, obedience to the religious director, service of ascetics, reading of voluminous books, bowing the head in meditation. This latter must not be for less than two *gharis*, and some among former devotees continued it for twelve years to stand with the arms hanging down, and to refrain from movement These six exercises quickly lead to perfection

There are forty-five great texts among this sect, of which twelve are termed *Angas*, considered to be sacred books (1) *Achārānga*, rule of conduct for ascetics (2) *Sutrakrit-ānga*, containing three hundred and sixty precepts of devotees and demonstrations of each (3) *Sthānānga*, in which from one to ten (acts) essential to purity are enumerated, beginning with one, applicable to the upper and lower worlds, and so throughout the series to ten. (4) *Samavāyānga;* herein from ten to ten millions are enumerated and divers other truth (5) *Bhagavatyānga*, this contains thirty-six thousand questions put by Gautama to Mahādeva[19] and the answers thereto (6) *Jnātādharmakatha*, containing thirty-five million ancient legends [P 107] (7) *Upāsakadasā*, an account of ten devotees of Mahadeva (8) *Antakriddasā*, on those who have attained the eternal beatitude of liberation (9) *Anuttaro-papāti-kadasānga*, on the blessed who for their good works have passed into the twenty-sixth degree of paradise. (10) *Prasnavyākaranānga*, mentions various works, the source of good and evil acts (11). *Vipākasrutanga*, former consequences of actions, which having borne the recompense of good and evil are forever laid to rest. (12) *Chaudah-purvānga* (*anga* of fourteen *Purvas*), containing questions that concern mankind generally, with various reflections and classes of acts.

The twenty-four *Tirthankaras* having in these deliverances revealed the will of the Supreme Being, their successors

[19] An error for *Mahāvira*.

collected them and reduced them to writing Twelve of them are termed *Upāngas*, in which the purport of the former books has been concisely recorded with some additional matter. Four books are called *Mula-Sutras*, in which are given the usages of religious preceptors, the mode of begging, manner of life, mortification, worship of God and rules of composition Six works are termed *Chedda-grantha*, on expiation of sin Ten others are called *Pāinna*,[20] explanation of the anatomy of the limbs, the manner of birth in animals, and all that takes place at the dissolution of elementary connection, and other subjects Another work designated *Nandi-Sutra*, treats of the five kinds of knowledge, which have been already mentioned

The devotees of this sect are called *Yatis* *Sishya* (disciple), is an inquirer who enters on this path *Ganesa-sishya*[21] is an ascetic who for six months at a stretch restrains the inordinate spirit within the prison of freedom from desire

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[20] The Sanskrit for this Prakrit word is *Prakirna*, and signifies a collection of miscellaneous rules

Weber in his *Sacred literature of the Jains* says that the third group of texts of the Siddhānta is formed by the ten *painnas*, a name which denoting scattered, hastily sketched pieces, well suits their real nature as a group of texts corresponding to the Vedic *parisishtas* It is as yet undetermined how old is their position as the third part of the Siddhānta and what caused their location there They are with few exceptions in metre and a considerable portion of them refers to the proper sort of euthanasy, the confession required for this end and the abjuration of everything evil Physiology mythology and astrology and hymns are also treated (*I A* Part CCLIX, April 1892) Weber is unable to make out the significance of the title *Mula-Sutra*, of which there are four The text is composed in metre and principally *slokas*. The entire Siddhanta according to Weber at present embraces 45 texts divided into six groups (1) eleven or twelve Angas (2) twelve Upāngas (3) ten Painnas (4) six Cheddasutras (5) two Sutras without a common name, Nandi and Anuyogadvāram (6) four Mula-Sutras

The names of all these will be found in *I. A* Part CCXIII, October, 1888

[21] From *Gana-isa* lord of troops , *Gana* with the Jains signifies a school or a school derived from one teacher, and *Ganadhara*, the head thereof

If he eats one day, he fasts two, and defiles not his hand with milk, curds, butter, oil, nor sweets He eats only of a little parched wheat thrown into hot water, and begs for alms only from one house, his nights are spent till morn in prayers, and five hundred times during each night he prostrates himself in worship, and in the day reads the book of Bhagavati [22] [P 108]

The *Pravartaka* (founder), has much the same character, but on account of his zeal and experience is nominated by the chief religious authority of the time over the pilgrims in this desolate wilderness, to superintend their daily actions and appoint suitable penance for such as are idolent and inclined to ease The *Sthāvira* (elder), is an assistant to the preceding who controls the refractory and aids the languishing The *Ratnādhika*, or *Paniyāsa* as he is also called, is zealous in the service of God wherever duty calls and thither speeds to remedy disorder he also prepares the place for the *Achārya* or spiritual teacher, and has the care of his garments and the settlement of disputes among the ascetics is committed to him The *Upādhyāya* (sub-teacher), has nearly the same rank as an *Achārya*, and the disciples verify under his direction the words of the sacred texts and the questions thereto appertaining These teachers possess nothing of their own but the garments which will be particularised later The *Achārya* is a personage of a genial disposition, reverent of aspect, pleasant of speech, grave, learned and benevolent He must be acquainted with the proofs of the doctrines of his sect, and learned in the precepts of the other eight schools and skilled to refute them, and no treatise

[22] This work is mentioned by Wilson (I 281 *Essays* 1862 Rost) as one of the eleven primary works of the Jainas an instruction in the various sources of wordly pain or in the paths of virtue and consists of lessons given to Gautama by Mahavira and is in Prākrit, in 36,000 stanzas It consists of a series of questions by Imdabhuti, Roha, and other disciples of Mahāvira to that sage, and his answers relating to a variety of topics

should be unknown to him. The burden of the care of hi flock lies upon his shoulders, and to promote the welfare o his institute must be his chief aim Garments and books tha are in excess of ordinary requirements are in his keeping fo supply at need to inquirers of this road The *Ganadhara* b fullness of knowledge and good works arrives at an exalte degree of wisdom, and possesses the eight miraculous endow ments mentioned in the Pātanjala system He is the repre sentative of the *Jina* The *Jina* who is also called *Tirthankar* (creating a passage through the circuit of life), surpasses th dignity and attains omniscience, is beautiful of countenance and perfect in the moral order His breath is redolent wit fragrance and his words full of wisdom His flesh and bloo are white, and none has ever seen him eat or defecate Neither sickness nor sweat nor dirt contaminate his hol person His nails and hair grow not long His words fal so harmoniously that every listener might deem that hi speech was music In whatsoever land he resides, snakes scorpions and other venomous reptiles disappear, neithe excess nor deficiency in rainfall occurs, and war, pestilenc and drought cease When he moves abroad, the trees ar voiceful in praise, and many ministering spirits attend t guard him It is said that his beautiful soul is imprisoned i the ventricular cavity of his form by a special connection, an in contradistinction to men in general, he is illumined b three kinds of apprehension, obtains cognition through th organs of sense and mind (*manas*) and the purport of al books is laid open to him He discerns all that has form whether far or near, and after being born, and through th discipline of austerities, he becomes cognisant of the secre thoughts of men and arrives at the sublime degree of omni science These qualities belong to the whole twenty-fou *Tirthankaras* of whom mention has been made [P 109]

The ascetics of this body have no intercourse wit women, and avoid the spot where the sound of her voice i

heard They abstain from meat, fruit and sweetmeats. They cook no food in their own dwellings, and at the meal-time of others, they approach a house and there stand and announce themselves by the words *"dharma lābha"* that is, 'he who doeth good, receiveth a reward', and without importunity, take whatever of daily cooked food is brought They may not take away milk, oil and rice together for food, and without being covetous of the taste thereof must speedily swallow their meal And they must not knowingly accept food cooked especially for them or for the sake of mendicants in general, nor which has been brought from out of a dark room, nor fetched by mounting from a low to an elevated place, nor for which the lock of a door has been opened nor brought out having been previously purchased [23] They drink nothing but warm water and do not eat or drink[24] during the night They never light a lamp nor have a fire in the house in which they dwell They may not pick up any thing fallen nor wash any member of the body but that which is actually soiled They must avoid avarice and anger, and abstain from falsehood, from injury to life and from theft, and may have no worldly goods, but only necessary raiment This, in other than winter time, consists of three robes One of these is used as a loin cloth, a second thrown over the shoulder like a belt and the third worn over the uncovered head [25] In winter a special woollen garment is added They have also a cloth a little more than a span and a half in length and breadth which they keep folded in four This is placed over the mouth when reading and the two ends are stuffed into the ears so that no

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[23] I translate with diffidence this crabbed and ungrammatical sentence The Akāranga Sutra lays down rules for these cases

[24] The text has *pushidan* by mistake for *nushidan*

[25] Two of the three robes and linen under garments *Kshaumikakalpa*, and one woollen upper garment (*aurnikakalpa*) Besides these (*kalpatrya*), the monk possesses an alms-bowl (*patra*, with six things belonging to it, a broom (*rajoharana*), and a veil for the mouth (*mukhavastrika*) Jacobi, p 67, *n* 3.

insect may enter and be injured, nor the person nor the book be defiled by saliva They also carry a *Dharmadhvaja*[26] made of woollen hairs like a tassel, bound with scarlet cloth and fixed in a wooden handle As they constantly sit on the ground, they first gently sweep it with both hands that nothing may remain beneath The elders of this sect, who have been briefly mentioned, spread an old woollen cloth by way of carpet, and spend their days profitably in fasting and good works Every six months they pull out the hairs of their head with their hands and nails, and go barefoot among thorns and stony places, but in the rainy season they do not stir abroad [27]

The laity of this sect are called *Srāvaka* They observe, firstly, the following twelve rules I Never to injure the innocent II To avoid (the following) five kinds of untruths which are accounted great falsehoods, (1) false testimony, (2) breach of trust, (3) regarding land, (4) in praise and blame of others, (5) concerning a cow III Not to stain their hands with dishonesty IV Not to look upon the wife of another V To be content with a moderate share of worldly goods VI *To give the surplus in charity* VII *On journeys, to* move stated distances VIII To determine the daily need of food and other necessaries, and to live accordingly IX Not to approach a spot where a *sati* has taken place or a robber executed X To set apart two or three *gharis* of the twenty-four hours, and with complete detachment of heart to employ these in devotion to the bountiful Creator XI At the hour of sleep to resolve on abstention from further food, and effacing the suggestions of desire, to lay down to rest XII On the 8th, 14th, 15th, and 1st day of the 1st quarter of the moon, [P 110] to abstain from food and drink through-

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[26] "The emblem or ensign of religion

[27] The reason of this is, that many living beings are produced and many seeds spring up the footpaths are not recognisable (Jacobi) p 136

out the day, and to feed the first beggar (met with) on the morn of the break of fast The points aforesaid should be gone over every day and at the time of rest, and the conscience be therein examined

The claim of rectitude of life in this austere sect is applicable to a man who fulfils the following conditions — He should constantly listen to the reading of the sacred texts, perform work of charity, make a practice of praising the virtuous, defile not his tongue in disparagement of another, especially of temporal rulers He should take in wedlock one who is his equal, and be ever in fear of committing sin He should conform to the laws of the land wherever he abides, and should so choose his dwelling that it be not public to every passer-by, nor yet so secluded that none can discover it, and it should not have more than two or three doors He should choose good neighbours and associate only with the virtuous He should be dutiful to his father and mother, and avoid a city or a province invaded by foreign troops He must regulate his expenses in accordance with his income, and make his dress conform to the same standard He must be assiduous in reading the divine books, and avoid an unrestrained spirit in the regulation of his life He must take his meals at stated times, and observe due measure in his regard for wordly wealth, and the getting thereof and attachment thereunto, and should be zealous in hospitality to a guest, an ascetic, and in the care of the sick He should not be self-opinionated, nor a lover of his own speech He must prize learning He must not journey out of season, nor into a country where he cannot practise his religion, nor enter into a quarrel without discerning his ally from his enemy He must sympathize with his kindred, and be provident and far-sighted, and recognize the claims of gratitude, and so bear himself in his outward conduct that men may hold him in regard He must be modest, gentle and courteous in demeanour, and exert himself in the interests of others, and

subduing his internal enemies, hold his five senses under the control of reason

The prohibitions to be observed by both the ascetics and the laity are, to abstain from flesh-meat, wine, honey, butter, opium, snow, ice hail, everything that grows beneath the earth, fruits whose names are unknown, or that contain small seeds, and from eating at night

The Jaina institutes recognize two orders, the *Svetambaras* (clad in white) and *Digambaras* (sky-clad) The latter wear no clothes and go naked According to the *Digambaras*, a woman cannot attain final liberation [24] They say that when any one arrives at the sublime degree of *mukti*, he needs no food till he dies They are at one with the *Svetambaras* on many points The writer has met with no one who had personal knowledge of both orders and his account of the *Digambaras* has been written as it were in the dark, but having some acquaintance with the learned of the *Svetambara* order, who are also known as *Sewra* he has been able to supply a tolerably full notice From ancient times, throughout the extent of Hindustan the Brāhmans and Jains have been the repositories of knowledge and ceremonial observance, but from short-sightedness have held each other in reproach The Brāhmans worship Krishna as a deity, while the Jainas relegate him to service in hell The Brahmans deem it better to face a raging elephant or a ravening lion than to meet with one of this sect His Majesty, however, in his earnest search after truth, has partially dispelled the darkness of the age by the light of universal toleration, and the numerous sectaries, relinquishing their mutual aversion, live in the happy accomplishment of a common harmony

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[24] There is a division between the Digambaras and Svetambaras on this point the latter conceding the doubtful privilege of final annihilation to women also The other points of difference may be read in Wilson's *Essays*, I p 340

BAUDDHA [29]

The founder of this rational system of faith is known as Buddha, and is called by many names One of these is *Sākyamuni*, vulgarly pronounced *Shākmuni* It is their belief that by the efficacy of a life of charity, he attained to the highest summit of wisdom, and becoming omniscient, secured the treasure of final liberation His father was *Rāja Suddhodana*, prince of Behār, and his mother's name was *Māyā* He was born by way of the navel and was surrounded by a brilliant light, and the earth trembled, and a stream of the water of the Ganges showered down upon him At the same time he took seven steps, uttered some sublime words, and said, "This will be my last birth" The astrologers foretold that on his attaining the age of twenty-nine years and seven days, he would become a mighty ruler, institute a new religion, and accomplish his final liberation At the very time foretold, he renounced the world and retired into the desert For a short period he lived at Benares, Rājgir, and other sacred places, and after many wanderings reached Kashmir

Many of the Hindu race, and from the coasts, and from Kashmir, Tibet and Scythia were converted by him From the date of his death to the present time, which is the fortieth year of the Divine Era, two thousand nine hundred and sixty-two years have elapsed He possessed the gift of an efficacious will and the power of performing miracles He lived one hundred and twenty years The learned among the Persians and Arabs, name the religious of this order

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[29] For Buddhism see Hastings, *Encyclo* ix 846-853, Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (Grundriss series), and the works of the two Rhys Davids The legends about Buddha are to be found in Asvaghosha's *Buddha-charita* (Cowell), the *Lalita Vistara*, Rockhill's *Life of Buddha*, Beal's *Romantic Legends of Sakya Buddha*, Bigandet's *Gaudama* (Burmese legends), all in English [J S]

Bhikshus;[30] in Tibet they are styled *Lāmās* For a long time past scarce any trace of them has existed in Hindusthan, but they are found in Pegu, Tenasserim and Tibet The third time that the writer accompanied His Majesty to the delightful valley of Kashmir, he met with a few old men of this persuasion, but saw none among the learned, nor observed anything like what is described by Hāfiz Abru and Banākati The Brāhmans regard him as the ninth *avatāra*, but do not accept the doctrines commonly ascribed to him, and deny that he is their author

They hold the Deity to be undefiled by incarnation, and with the *Sānkhya*, *Mimāmsā*, and *Jaina* systems, do not consider him the author of creation The world, they deem to be without beginning or end, and the whole universe to be at one moment resolved into nothingness, and at another created again as before They accept the doctrine of the recompense of good and evil deeds, and of hell and heaven, and knowledge, according to them, is a quality of the rational soul The ascetics of this religion shave their heads, and wear garments of leather and red cloth [P 112]

They are frequent in their ablutions, and refuse nothing that is given them as food, and hold all that dies of itself as

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[30] In the text *Bakhshi* This word occurs in Marco Polo (Yule I 293) as *Bacsi* and in a note (p 305) it is explained to be a corruption of *Bhikshu* the proper Sanskrit term for a religious mendicant and in particular for a Buddhist devotee The word was probably applied adds the note to a class only of the Lamas but among the Turks and Persians became a generic name for them all, and this passage from the Ain is quoted in support It continues, that according to Pallas the word among the modern Mongols is used in the sense of *teacher*, and is applied to the oldest and most learned priest of a community, who is the local ecclesiastical chief Among the Kirghiz Kazzāks the word survives in Marco Polo's sense of a "medicine-man" or conjurer In Western Turkistān it has come to mean a bard From its association with persons who could read and write, it seems to have gradually passed into the sense of a clerk Under the Mahomedan rule it was applied to an officer who performed duties analogous to those of Quartermaster General and thence came to mean a paymaster *Ency Isl* i 600 [J S]

killed by the act of God, and therefore lawful They hold no commerce with women, and kill nothing that has life, and looking on plants as possessing it, they refrain from digging them up or cutting them

Their spiritual energies are directed to six objects · the repression of anger, the pursuit of wisdom, soliciting alms, true understanding of the worship of the Supreme Being, fortitude in austerities, perpetual commune with God. Three things are affirmed by them to be the source of goodness. knowledge, disinterestedness, freedom from envy, and twelve seats the source of good and evil, *viz.*, the five senses, their faculties,[31] the common sensory, and intellect These twelve, they term *Ayatana* (seats)

There are four objects of thought which in place of *padārtha* (categories), they call (*chaturvidha*) *Arya-satya*, four sublime truths The first is *Duhkha-satya* reality of misery, which is of five kinds (1) *Vijnāna*, (sensation) (2) *Vedanā*, consciousness, the recompense of good or evil (3) *Sanjnā*, name or denomination of things (4) *Sanskāra*, (impression), aggregate of merit and demerit Some assert that since all things are in a state of momentary flux and reflux of existence, the intellectual consciousness thereof is designated by this term (5) *Rupa* (form) comprehends the five elements, and their evolutes, and because all these five produce bodily sufferance, they are distinguished under this head

The second, *Samudaya-Satya* (progressive accumulation of evil), is all that arises from desire and anger, and which under its influence says, 'I am,' or, 'that is mine'

The third is *Mārga-satya* (reality of means), the habit of thought that the world is in momentary annihilation and

[31] So in the *Sarva Darsana Sangraha*, "After acquiring wealth in abundance, the twelve inner seats are to be thoroughly reverenced · what use of reverencing aught else below ' The five organs of knowledge, the five organs of action, the common sensory, and the intellect have been described by the wise as the twelve inner seats"

reproduction The fourth is *Nirodha-satya* (reality of annihilation) which they call *Mukti* or final liberation Ten conditions are necessary to attain this degree (I) Charity (II) Abstention from evil and practising virtue, that is, to refrain from the following ten actions, *viz*, taking life, molesting, taking that which is not given, incontinence, falsehood, speaking ill of the good, irascibility, idle speech, evil intention, intercourse prohibited by religious precept Seven duties are to be fulfilled Respect for religious guide and spiritual director, veneration of idols, observing the service of others, praise of the good, influencing to good works by gentle speech, perseverance through success or failure in sustaining others in virtue, learning the duties of worship (III) To be neither elated nor depressed by praise or blame (IV) To sit in a particular posture (V) To introduce an idol into a temple which they call *chaitya* (VI) To regard the things of the world [P 113] as they really are (VII) To be zealous in the seven practices of *Yoga* prescribed in the Patanjala system (VIII) To acquire the habit of five duties, *viz*, a true and firm acceptance of the commands of the religious director, to be mindful of them and to carry them out, to reduce the body and spirit by rigid austerities, to efface from the heart all external impression, to keep the mind fixed only on the Supreme Being (IX) To strengthen the bonds of knowledge so that they cannot be broken (X) To enter upon the knowledge by which final liberation is accomplished *Pramāna*, proof, with this sect, consists of *pratyaksha* (perception), and *ātman*[32] (self), and there are two causes of knowledge, evidence of the senses, and demonstration The first is four-fold, *viz*, apprehension by the five

[32] The Bauddhas do not recognize soul (*Jiva* or *ātman*) distinct from intelligence (*chitta*) This latter dwelling within the body and possessing individual consciousness, apprehends objects and subsists as self In that view only is *ātman*, self or soul Colebrooke I 47 For the Buddhist conception of the Soul, Hastings *Encyclop* xi 731 733 and xii 429 also *ātman* in ii 195-197. [J S]

senses, or perception by the common sensory or apprehension of the knowledge of the things themselves, or when by reason of the mortification of the senses, the non-apparent and the visible become identical

In regard to inference and the exposition of the external *percipibile* their argumentation is lengthy and extremely subtile

The Bauddhas are divided into four sects

1 The *Vaibhāshikas*, like the Nyāya school, believe in separate indivisible atoms for each of the four elements but perceptible by the eye, and with them existence is predicable of two entities, cognition and its objects, the latter being apprehended by the senses

2 The *Sautrāntikas* affirm that objects are cognised by inference

3 *Yogāchāras* admit only intellect which produces the forms of objects

The *Mādhyamikas* hold both cognition and objects to be void (*sunya*, Hindi *sun*) and confounded existence and non-existence

Many treatises have been written on each of these divisions and there is considerable variance of opinion on questions of objective and subjective existence Three sciences are regarded by them as important, the science of proof the science of administration the science of the interior life

NASTIKA [13]

Chārvāka, after whom this school is named, was an unenlightened Brāhman Its followers are called by the Brāhmans, *Nāstikas* or Nihilists They recognise no existence apart from the four elements, nor any source of perception save through the five organs of sense They do not believe

[13] For the Nāstika philosophy, Hastings, *Encyclo* viii 493-494 The term *Nāstika* signifies one who disowns the existence of a future life Chārvāka in Hastings, viii 138 and 493, i 47 (nihilism)

in a God nor in immaterial substances, and affirm faculty of thought to result from the equilibrium of the aggregate elements. Paradise, they regard as a state in which man lives as he chooses, free from the control of another, and hell the state in which he lives subject to another's rule. The whole end of man, they say, is comprised in four things: the amassing of wealth, [P 114] women, fame and good deeds They admit only of such sciences as tend to the promotion of external order, that is, a knowledge of just administration and benevolent government. They are somewhat analogous to the sophists in their views and have written many works in reproach of others, which rather serve as lasting memorials of their own ignorance

CHAPTER VI

THE EIGHTEEN SCIENCES

(*Athāra Vidyā*)

Having taken a brief survey of the nine schools of philosophy existing in this country, I proceed to state some of the points on which the Brāhmans of the first six systems are agreed and thus brighten the interest of this exposition

They say that he has attained the summit of knowledge who has garnered his stores of wisdom from this number of sciences and by fathoming their depths, satisfied the desire of his heart

The first division consists of the *Rig Veda*[1] the second is the *Yajur Veda* the third is the *Sāma Veda* and the fourth, the *Atharvan*

These four are considered to be divine books, as already mentioned Each of them treats of four matters —(1) *Vidhi* precept and its cogency, (2) *Arthavāda*, praise and its recompense, (3) *Mantra*, invocation and prayer which are profitable in particular cases, (4) *Nāmadheya*, appellation of important acts Each of them also treats of three things :— (1) *Karma*, exterior works, (2) *Upāsanā*, religious meditation, (3). *Jnāna*, perfected knowledge

The fifth, the *Purānas* Eighteen distinct works are styled by this name They explain in a clear manner the difficulties occurring in the four Vedas above mentioned, and each of them treats of the following five subjects —(1) The creation of the world (2) The dissolution thereof (3) Genea-

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[1] On the Vedas, Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion*, viii 106 109 (Vedic Literature, by Bloomfield), xii 601-618 (Vedic Religion by Macdonell) Winternitz's *History of Indian Literature* (now available in an English translation) i, and also the Grundriss

For the Purānas, Hastings, viii 110 (as literature) and x 447-455 (full description and discussion by Pargiter) [J S]

logies of various families (4) Account of the fourteen *Manvantaras* These are fourteen *Manus* or holy spirits who, during the whole life of Brahmā, will appear successively for the guidance of mankind, and sustain by their power the burden of the world The life of each is seventy-one times the four ages, a revolution of the four ages being four million three hundred and twenty thousand years They likewise mention the fourteen *Indras* associated with them, (for they say that [P 115] during Brahmā's life, fourteen deities will successively rule the celestial regions), and the actions by means of which they attain to this dignity There are further the legendary narratives of celebrated monarchs

The names of the *Purānas* are —(1) *Matsya* (2) *Mārkanda* (3) *Bhavishya* (4) *Bhāgavata* (5) *Brahmavaivarta* (6) *Brahmānda* (7) *Brahma* (8) *Vāyu* (9) *Vamana* (10) *Vishnu* (11) *Vārāha* (12) *Agni* (13) *Nārada* (14) *Padma* (15) *Linga* (16) *Kurma* (17) *Skanda* (18) *Garuda*

There are eighteen other books called *Upa-purānas*, explanatory of the foregoing, which are said by some to be of recent origin Their names are —(1) *Sanatkumāra*, originally *Saura*, so called from the name of its compiler (2) *Nāradiya* This was also the name of a *Purāna* and the same may be said of some others The *Upa-purānas* in fact, contain accounts not given in the *Purānas*, and they are styled by the designations of their originals (2) *Nārasinha* (3) *Sivadharma* (4) *Durvāsana* (5) *Kāpila* (6) *Mānava* (7) *Sāukara* (8) *Ausanasa* (9) *Vāruna* (10) *Brahmānda* (11) *Kali* and also *Kālikā* (12) *Māhesvara* (13) *Nānda* (14) *Samba* (15) *Aditya* (16) *Pārāsara* (17) *Bhāgavata* (18) *Kurma* [2]

The sixth of the sciences is called *Dharma-Sastra*, (institutes of the law) or doctrine relating to good works This is

[2] Some of these names do not occur in Wilson's lists and their right to be called *Purānas* is disputed

also taken from the Vedas, and accompanied by a multiplicity of detail It is also called *Smriti*,[3] and has a similar number of divisions The principal subjects of these books are three. The duties of the four castes regarding religious worship, the duties of administration, and the expiation of sins

The names of the eighteen codes of memorial law (*smriti*) are as follows —

(1) *Manu* (2) *Yajnavalkya* (3) *Atri* (4) *Angiras* (5). *Usanas* (6) *Gautama* (7) *Parāsara* (8) *Sankha Likhita* (9) *Vishnu* (10) *Hārita* (11) *Vasishtha* (12) *Yama* (13) *Sātātapa*. (14) *Apastamba* (15) *Kātyāyana* (16). *Vrihaspati* To these some have added the following two (17) *Vyāsa* (18) *Daksha* [117]

The names of the eighteen *Upa-smriti* or minor law codes are—

(1) *Angiras* (2) *Jābāli* (3) *Nāchiketa* (4) *Skanda* (5) *Laugākshi* (6) *Kāsyapa* (7) *Vyāsa* (8) *Sanatkumāra* (9) *Shatrzu*.[4] (10) *Janaka* (11) *Vyāghra* (12) *Kātyāyana* (13) *Jātukarnya* (14). *Kapinjala* (15) *Baudhāyana* (16) *Kanāda* (17) *Visvāmitra* (18) *Sumantu*

The seventh is *Sikshā* (Phonetics), the science of letters [5]

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[3] For the *Dharma-Sastras*, Hastings, *Encyclop* viii 109 (as literature) x 807 and scattered ref (*Smriti*), vii 352-353 (*Sruti*), iv 283-284 (on crimes), vii 850-853 (Hindu Law) Besides the evidence of precept from an extant revelation (*sruti*), another source of evidence is founded on the recollections (*smriti*) of the ancient sages These recollections have come down by unbroken tradition, and are known under the title of *Dharma-Sāstra*, the institutes of law, civil and religious This sacred code of law comprises a system of duties, religious and civil The latter includes law, private and criminal, the forms of judicial procedure, rules of pleading, law of evidence, adverse titles, oaths, ordeal &c

[4] Or *Shatarzu* Doubtless the *Shattrinsa* a well-known work on law The *Shattrinsanmata* was a collection of the opinions of 36 Munis of whom the names of all 18 mentioned in the above list, occur, and several of the second

[5] For these following six doctrines of Phonetics, Prosody, Grammar, Etymology, Astronomy and Ceremonial, commonly called the Vedāngas, see Max Muller's *History of Sanskrit Litera-*

The eighth is *Kalpa,* ceremonial, a science which treats of ten kinds of duties from the beginning of marriage to the time when the son is invested with the Brahmanical thread; *viz.,* the marriage, cohabitation the third month from pregnancy to the fifth the sixth to the eighth the birth the naming of the child carrying him out to see the sun · feeding him cutting his hair investing him with the sacred thread At each of these times special prayers and important ceremonies are required

The ninth is *Vyākarana,*[6] the science of grammar and linguistic analysis, upon which are based the rules for the composition of letters Firstly, they reckon fifty-two letters under three kinds Fourteen are vowels (*Svara*) which are both letters and diacritical accents, and can be pronounced without extraneous adjunct These are, a (अ) ā (आ) [118] i (इ) ī (ई) u (उ) ū (ऊ) ṛi (ऋ) ṛī (ॠ). lṛi (ऌ): lṛī (ॡ) (diphthongs) e (ए) ai (ऐ) o (ओ) au (औ) Thirty-three letters are called *Vyanjana,* consonants which cannot be sounded without a vowel These are k (क) kh (ख) · g (ग) gh (घ) n (ङ) which is a letter having a nasal sound produced by the throat and nose, ch (च) chh (छ) j (ज) jh (झ) n (ञ) t (ट) th (ठ) d (ड). dh (ढ) n (ण). t (त) th (थ) d (द) dh (ध) n (न) p (प) ph (फ) b (ब) bh (भ) m (म) : y (य). r (र) l (ल) v (व) s (श) sh (ष) s (स) h (ह) There are five other letters, one of which is called

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ture, p 113, ff The first are considered requisite for reading the Veda the two next for understanding it, and the last two for employing it at sacrifices *Sikshā* is derived from *sak* to be able and means a desire to know The doctrine of the *Siksha* was embodied in the Aranyakas and perhaps the Brāhmanas Kalpa or Ceremonial is the fifth and most complete Vedanga The ceremonies mentioned by Abul Fazl, are described in the *Grihya-Sutras* and are briefly alluded to by Muller, p 264

[6] The third Vedanga is *Vyākarana* or Grammar, represented by the grammarians ending with Pānini, whose work however, superseded those of his predecessors to such an extent that little but their names and a few rules under their authority have come down to us V *Hist Sansk Lit*

Anusvāra, sounded like *kan* with a quiescent nasal Another is *visarga* (a surd breathing), like the final *h* in *kah* A third is called *jihvāmuliya*, a letter between an *h* and a *kh*, and occurs as a medial and is sounded from the root of the tongue The fourth is called *gaja-kumbha kriti*, a quiescent medial letter approximating in sound to a *bhā* The fifth is *ardha-bindu*, a quiescent nasal, like a suppressed *nun* (ں)

Such is the exposition of the Sanskrit alphabet as far as I have been able to transcribe it Some points which it has been beyond my power adequately to explain I have but alluded to The last five letters are employed with vowels and consonants alike, and each consonant is capable of being vocalized with the fourteen vowels At the present day the fourteen vowels (*svara*) are called *matra*[7] and two being commonly omitted,[8] twelve only are employed Each written letter is separate and unconnected with the next Letters are of four kinds If without a [P 119] moveable vowel a letter is called (*vyānjana*) If it be a simple short vowel or if it add one *mātra* to a quiescent long vowel, it is called *hrasva* Twice the prosodial time of a short vowel is called *dirgha*, and if longer than two (*i e* three *mātras*) it is called *pluta* or prolated

Eight modes of utterance are reckoned, *viz* , from the middle of the chest the throat the root of the tongue between the teeth the nose the palate the lip and the crown of the head There is considerable diversity of opinion in all that they discuss but I have chosen the most generally accepted view Before the writer had gained any acquaintance with this language, he considered the grammatical structure of Arabic to be without a rival, but he is now more fully

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[7] Properly the prosodial time of a short vowel

[8] These are the long i and the long l the latter does not occur in a single genuine word in the language, and is added says Whitney, for the sake of an artificial symmetry

aware of the immense labours of Hindu philologists, and the powerful regulative influence of their system

The tenth science is *Nirukta*, (etymology), a detailed commentary of Vedic texts [9]

The eleventh *Jyotisha*[10] is on astronomy and its wonders

The twelfth *Chandas* is on metre and the classes of verse

The last six are called *Angas*, that is to say that a knowledge of these six is necessary to the comprehension of the Vedas.

The thirteenth is the *Mimāmsā* of which the three kinds have been already mentioned.

The fourteenth is the *Nyāya* which has been summarily treated among the sciences

The fifteenth is the *Ayur-veda*, the science of anatomy, hygiene, nosology and therapeutics It is taken from the first Veda [11]

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[9] This is the fourth Vedānga as represented by the *Nirukta* of Yāska and applies to Vedic etymologies exclusively It is important to distinguish his *Nirukta*, the text of which is usually called *Nighantu* from his commentary of the *Nirukta* to which the term *Nirukta* alone is often applied The *Nirukta* consists of three parts, the *Naighantuka*, the *Naigama*, and the *Daivata*, in five chapters, containing lists of synonyms words and Divinities Max Muller points out that the Greeks and Hindus alone of all nations have had independent conceptions of the sciences of Logic and Grammar, but they started from opposite points The Greeks began with philosophy and endeavoured to adjust its terminology to the facts of language The Hindus began with etymology and their generalisations never went beyond arrangements of grammatical forms, partly due to the sacred character of the Vedic hymns wherein a mispronunciation might mar their religions effect Thus the grammar of the latter has ended in a colossal pedantry, while that of the Greeks still influences modern culture throughout the civilised world *Hist Sansk Lit* p 160 ff

[10] *Jyotisha* is the last of the Vedāngas Its literature is scanty and is mainly represented by a small treatise representing the earliest stage of Hindu astronomy

[11] Medicine —Hastings *Encyclo* iv 762-772 (under Disease and Medicine Vedic, by Bolling) viii 292 (Magic and Religion, by H A Rose) ix 43-48 (Indian Medicine) 53-57 (Muhammadan Medicine) *Ayur-veda* contains eight departments 1 *Salya*, surgery, 2 *Sālākya*, inquiry into diseases of the head and its organs 3 *Kāya chikitsā*, treatment of diseases affecting the whole body.

The sixteenth is *Dhanur-veda*, the science of archery and of the use of various other weapons, taken from the second Veda [12]

The seventeenth is *Gāndharva-veda*, the science of music, vocal, instrumental and practical, taken from the third or Sāma-veda

The eighteenth is *Artha-shāstra*,[13] treating of the acquisition of wealth and its profitable employment These four are termed subordinate or *Upa-vedas* [P 120]

The arts and sciences cultivated throughout the extent of Hindustan are too numerous to mention, but somewhat of them shall be briefly reviewed as an acceptable offering to the curious, in the hope that it may prove interesting as well as an incentive to inquiry

KARMA-VIPAKA

Or the ripening of actions [14] This is a system of knowledge of an amazing and extraordinary character, in which the learned of Hindustan concur without dissentient opinion It reveals the particular class of actions performed in a former birth which have occasioned the events that befall men in

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4 *Bhuta-vidya*, treatment of diseases of the mind supposed to be produced by demonical influence 5 *Kaumāra-bhritya* treatment of children 6 *Agada-tantra*, doctrine of antidotes 7 *Rāsāyana-tantra*, doctrine of elixirs 8 *Vājīkarana-tantra*, rules for increasing generative powers Monier Williams *Sansk Dict*

[12] Regarded as an *Upa-veda* connected with the Yajur-veda, and ascribed to Visvā-mitra , or according to others, to Bhrigu *Ibid*

[13] According to Monier Williams, it is the science of polity, or moral and political government

[14] That is, the good and evil consequences in this life of human acts performed in previous births This work of Visvesvara-bhatta explains expiatory rites to be performed in cases of disease, supposed to be the punishment of offences committeed in a previous state of existence, written in *Slokas* in the form of a dialogue between Sakuntalā Bharata and Sātātapa-Bhrigu Monier Williams For *Karma* see Hastings *Encyclo* vii 673-677, and for the caste system, ii 230-239

this present life, and prescribes the special expiation of each sin, one by one It is of four kinds

THE FIRST KIND discloses the particular action which has brought a man into existence in one of the five classes into which mankind is divided, and the action which occasions the assumption of a male or female form A *Kshatriya* who lives continently, will, in his next birth, be born a *Brāhman* A *Vaisya* who hazards his transient life to protect a Brāhman, will become a *Kshatriya* A *Sudra* who lends money without interest and does not defile his tongue by demanding repayment, will be born a *Vaisya* A *Mlechchha* who serves a *Brāhman* and eats food from his house till his death, will become a *Sudra* A *Brāhman* who undertakes the profession of a *Kshatriya* will become a *Kshatriya*, and thus a *Kshatriya* will become a *Vaisya*, and a *Vaisya* a *Sudra*, and a *Sudra* a *Mlechchha* Whosoever accepts in alms a *Krishna-jina* or skin of the black antelope, or the bed on which a man has died, or a buffalo, or receives an alms in the shrine of *Kurukshetra*, will, in the next birth, from a man become a woman Any woman or *Mlechchha*, who in the temple of *Badari-Nārāyana*[1] sees the form of *Narāyana* and worships him with certain incantations, will in the next birth, if a woman, become a man, and if a *Mlechchha*, a *Brāhman* This shrine is in the hills north of Hardwār They say that for any one who has not an accurately defined caste, the horoscope of the result of any particular action is taken, and the place of Mars is observed Whatever may be its position, the *dominus domus* shows the caste of the inquirer, and the dominant of the seventh house of Mars shows the caste of the inquirer in his former birth If Venus and Jupiter, his caste is *Brāhman* if the sun and Mars, a *Kshatriya* if the

[1] Commonly *Badrināth*, a peak of the Himalayan range in Garhwāl Dist N W P reaching to a height of 23,210 feet above the sea Its glaciers are the source of the Alaknanda river Immense numbers of pilgrims visit Badrināth annually, 50,000 persons having in some years attended the great festival *I G*

moon, a *Vaisya* if *Saturn*, a *Sudra* if the head and tail of the Dragon, a *Mlechchha*[16]

THE SECOND KIND shows the strange effects of actions on health of body and in the production of manifold diseases Physicians attribute these to constitution, but this science to the results of former conduct Hindu philosophers class diseases under three heads —(1) Those that can be cured by medicinal treatment, (2) Those that are removable by observing the following courses of procedure (3) Those that require the application of both To diagnose each of these certain symptoms are recognised which are classed under three states, *viz*, (1) actions deliberately committed in a state of wakefulness, (2) such as are unconsciously done [121] in that condition, (3) and those that are effected during sleep In the first, the sickness is incapable of remedy, in the second a remedy can be applied, in the third case, medicinal treatment to some extent restores health, but there is liability to relapse Disorders of the heart, they consider, as originating in intention, and those of the body from inadvertency and error Volumes have been written on this subject and the advice of physicians disregarded as unprofitable Some of these causes of sickness are here set down for purposes of illustration

HEADACHE is caused by former violent language used to father or mother The remedy is to make the images of

[16] The last chapter of Albiruni s Indica is occupied with the complicated explanation of the astrological calculations of the Hindus I refer the curious reader to the tabular representations of the different planets, their aspects, influences, houses and indications, together with the tables of the Zodiacal signs and their dominants which are there given

[17] By what is a man impelled, O Varshneya! says Arjuna in the *Bhagavad Gitā*, ' when he commits sin even against his will, as if compelled by force?' 'It is lust, replies Krishna it is wrath born from the 'passion' mode know that this all-devouring, all-defiling is here our foe Knowledge is enveloped by this which is the eternal foe of the wise man and is an insatiable flame Davies' Translation

Kasyapa[18] and *Aditi* of two *tolahs* of gold and give them t the poor The first of these two is regarded as the fathe of the *Devatās*, and the latter as the mother

MADNESS is the punishment of disobedience to fath and mother The cure is to perform the *Chāndrāyana*, whic is to eat one mouthful on the first day, and to increase th food daily by the same quantity for one month, and then t decrease in the same measure till one mouthful is agai reached, and to make two images as above of two *tolahs* o gold and bestow them in alms with one cow

EPILEPSY results from having administered poison another at the command of a superior The cure consis of these two images, a cow, a piece of land and thirty-tw *sers* of sesame-seed, with a repetition of some incantatio in the name of *Mahādeva*

PAIN IN THE EYES arises from having looked upon a other's wife The cure is *Chāndrāyana*

BLINDNESS is the punishment of a matricide which followed by many years of suffering in hell The cure *Prājāpatya*,[19] which is of five kinds —(1) Bestowing a co in charity, (2) Or one *tolah* of gold, (3) Or feeding twel *Brāhmans*, (4) Or throwing into the fire ten thousand tim a mixture of sesame-seed, butter, honey and sugar, (5) O walking a *yojana*, bare foot to a shrine Let one or sever of these be done in charity thirty times Or let him make boat of four *tolahs* of gold, the mast of silver, and six paddl of copper Or, if it be a punishment of disobedience to fath and mother, the cure is, as already described, the images

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[18] One of the Prajāpatis or mind-born sons of Brahmā H married thirteen of the daughters of Daksha of whom the first w *Aditi* by whom he had the twelve *Adityas* See the *Vishnu P* Wilson v also Vol II, 38

[19] Sacred to Prajāpati It signifies the giving away of the wh of one's property before entering on the life of an ascetic It is al a kind of fast lasting twelve days and likewise a form of marriag Monier Williams

Kasyapa and *Aditi* These should not be of less than two *tolahs*

DUMBNESS is the consequence of killing a sister The cure is to bestow in charity a cow made of four *tolas* of gold, its horns be of two *tolahs* of silver, its hump of two or three *māshas* of copper with a brass vessel for milk, and for seven days he should eat a mixture of curds, butter, urine and cowdung

COLIC results from having eaten with an impious person or a liar The cure is to fast for three days, and to give twelve *tolahs* of silver in charity

STONE IN THE BLADDER is the punishment of incest with a step-mother [P 122] The cure is *Madhu-dhenu* (honey-milch cow) Let it be supposed that milch-cow of honey is formed thus —Fourteen vessels full of honey, each of which shall contain a *man* and a quarter, must be placed with one *tolah* of gold in front to represent the mouth, four *sers* of sugar-candy must represent her tongue, thirty-two *sers* of fruit, her teeth, pearls for the two eyes, and two sticks of lignum aloes for her horns, two plantains stand for her two ears, and barley-flour for her teats, with three sticks of sugar-cane for each leg A white woollen cloth is thrown over the vessels to represent her hide, and *Dāba*,[20] which is a particular kind of grass, is strewn above it The hoofs are to be of silver, the hump of a *ser* and a quarter of copper the tail of silk, thirty fingers in length, with skeins of silk eleven fingers long hanging therefrom Two pieces of red cloth must be thrown over her neck, and seven heaps of grain, each of two *sers* weight, must be made, and a brass vessel placed in front, and another vessel full of honey set near to represent her calf, and a copper vessel filled with sesame-

[20] The *Kusa*, *Poa Cynosaroides*, a sacrificial grass A Brāhman when he reads the Vedas, must, according to Manu (*Institutes*, II 75), sit on *kusa* grass with the points to the east

seed Next, certain incantations are made, and prayers are said, and alms given

LAMENESS is the result of having kicked a *Brahman* The cure is to bestow in charity a horse made of a *tolah* of gold, and to feed one hundred and eight *Brāhmans*

FEVER arises from killing an innocent *Kshatriya* The cure thirteen *Brāhmans* should read incantations in the name of *Mahādeva* one hundred times, and sprinkle water over his image

CONSUMPTION is the punishment of killing a *Brāhman* A lotus flower of four *tolahs* weight of gold should be made, and the ceremony of the *Homa*[1] performed and alms given to righteous *Brāhmans*

TUMOUR is caused by killing a wife without fault on her part The cure is to spread a black antelope-skin (*Krishnājina*) and place thereon a heap of sesame-seed and a hundred *tolahs* or more of gold, and read incantations and perform the *Homa* oblation But the acceptance of such an offering is considered blameable

ASTHMA results from having accepted of this oblation, or of one of the sixteen great offerings, or of an alms at *Kurukshetra* The cure is to take a buffalo of iron, with hoofs and horns of lead, and to make a sectarial mark of stone on its forehead, garland it with flowers of the *Kuner* (*Nerium odorum*), and place upon it a black blanket and four *tolahs* of gold, and three *man* and a half of pulse (*Māsh Phaseolus mungo*) The performer must have a sectarial mark drawn upon his forehead with the finger The accepter of this charity is not well regarded [P 123]

DYSENTERY is the punishment for robbing a house The cure is to give in alms a house and its necessary furniture, and seven kinds of grain, thirty-two *sers* of each kind, a handmill, a pestle and mortar, a repository for drinking

[1] This is an oblation to the gods made by casting clarified butter into the fire accompanied by prayers and invocations

water, a kitchen-hearth, a broom, a cow, and money according to means

THE THIRD KIND indicates the class of actions which have caused sterility and names suitable remedies

A WOMAN whose husband dies before her, was in a former birth of a great family and followed a stranger and on his death consigned herself to the flames The cure is self-martyrdom by austerities, or suicide by throwing herself into snow.

A WOMAN who does not menstruate, in a former existence while in her courses, roughly drove away the children of her neighbours who had come as usual to play at her house The cure is to fill an earthen vessel with water from a hundred wells, and to throw therein a betel-nut and one *māsha* of gold, anoint it with perfumes and give it to a *Brahman* She should also give five, seven, nine or eleven kinds of fruit to children to eat

STERILITY is occasioned by a man or woman in a former birth having sold the children of other people, or the young of an oviparous animal, or reproached others for barrenness Cure the man and woman should enter the water at the meeting of two streams, wrapped in a single sheet, and bathe, and reciting certain incantations, pray to *Mahādeva* and give one *mohar* each to eleven *Brāhmans*, and a cow in alms on certain conditions, and make two images of *Kasyapa* and *Aditi* of two *tolahs* of gold each, and making an image of Vishnu in his dwarf incarnation (*Vāmana*), bestow it in charity And they should also fill eight winnowing-baskets with seven kinds of grain, and lay upon it a cloth and cocoanuts and various kinds of fruit, with flowers of saffron, and sandal-wood, and give each of these to a virtuous woman, and hear the recital of the *Harivansa*, which is the conclusion of the *Mahābharata*

A WOMAN whose son dies shortly after his birth is thus punished for having in a former birth followed a common

practice in Hindustan of exposing any child to die that is born when the moon is in the lunar station called *Mula* (ν Scorpionis) or *Aslesha* (ε 1 and 2 Cancri) or near the end of *Jyeshthā* (α Scorpionis, Antares), and a birth is especially a matter of reproach in *Mula* The cure is to make a cow of four *tolahs* of gold, its hoofs of a *tolah* of silver, jewels for her tail, brass bells on her neck, a calf of a *tolah* of gold, its hoofs being of half a *tolah* of silver

A WOMAN who gives birth to only daughters is thus punished for having contemptuously regarded her husband from pride The cure is to plate the horns of a white cow with four *tolahs* of gold and burnish its hoofs with four *tolahs* of silver, and make a hump of one *ser* and a quarter of copper and a vessel of two *sers* and a half of brass, and bestow this in charity One hundred *Brahmans* should also be fed and she should fashion a figure of the deity of ten *māshas* and two *surkhs* of gold, and reciting incantations, give alms and feed fifty *Brāhmans*

A WOMAN who has had but one son, is punished for having taken away a calf from its dam Cure let her give away a fine milch-cow with ten *tolahs* of gold

A WOMAN who has given birth to a son that dies and a daughter that lives, has in her former existence, taken animal life Some say that she had killed goats The cure is the fast of the *Chāndrāyana*, a cow given in charity and the feeding of twelve *Brahmans*

[124] A WOMAN who has continued in a state of pregnancy for sixteen years, has in a former birth been burnt when pregnant, the cure is an alms of *Hiranya-garbha* [22]

BEING A MAID-SERVANT is the punishment for having in a former existence, from ignorance, had criminal intimacy with the husband of another and been burnt for his sake The cure is, if she be in the house of a *Sudra*, to convey her to the

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[22] That is the figure of Brahmā.

house of a *Vaisya*, and thus by graduation of caste to a *Brāhman's*, where she should remain in service till her death

In order to discover whether these punishments are for the deeds of the man or the woman, they should both take the horoscopes of the results of particular actions If in the horoscope, either the fifth or eleventh (mansion), shows the *ascendens* to be the Sun, Mars, or Saturn or the head or tail of the Dragon (ascending or descending node), and these affect the character of the woman (as based on the three modes of goodness, passion and darkness) which is considered under the influence of Saturn, the punishment is reckoned to be that of the woman, otherwise it appertains to the man If in both mansions, the results apply to both [23]

THE FOURTH KIND treats of riches and poverty, and the like Whoever distributes alms at auspicious times, as during eclipses of the moon and sun, will become rich and bountiful (in his next existence) Whoso at these times, visits any place of pilgrimage, especially *Ilahābās* (Allahabad), and there dies, will possess great wealth, but will be avaricious and of a surly disposition Whosoever when hungry and

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23 Each of the Zodiacal signs has peculiar qualities and these have been tabulated by Albiruni from the *Laghujātakam* The cardinal points of Hindu astrology, as he observes are the planets zodiacal signs and the houses The nature of the aspect of every sign depends upon the nature of the *ascendens* which at a given moment rises above the horizon The aspect between one sign and the fourth or eleventh following, is a fourth part of an aspect that between one sign and the fifth or ninth following, is half an aspect, between the sixth and tenth, three quarters, and between a sign and the seventh following, a whole aspect If a planet stand in signs which in relation to its rising, are the 10th, 11th, 12th 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th signs, its nature changes for the better if in other signs for the worse The Houses indicate severally, various parts of the body, future events as to life, property, disposition, the influences of particular planets and Zodiacal signs, etc Some of the signs are male and others female alternately from Aries to Pisces The first half of each male sign is unlucky, as under the influence of the sun which produces males, while the second half is lucky under the influence of the moon which produces females Women are indicated by the seventh House which is under the influence of Saturn, as Abul Fazl rightly observes

with food before him, hears the supplication of a poor man and bestows it all upon him, will be rich and liberal But whosoever has been deprived of these three opportunities will be empty-handed and poor in his present life The cure is to fulfil scrupulously the duties of his state to whichsoever of the five classes he belongs, and also at *Kurukshetra,* in times of eclipse of the moon and sun, to bury in the ground a piece of gold, if it be but one *māsha,* as an oblation

Works have been written on each of these four kinds, detailing the causes, symptoms, and remedies of these actions I have but adduced a little as an exemplar of much by way of illustration

SVARA

Is the extraordinary science of predicting events by observing the manner in which breath issues from the nostrils The expiration of breath from the nostrils is in three ways The first is when it comes principally from the left nostril, and this they ascribe to the influence of the moon It is then called *Idā* (vital spirit), or *Chandra-nādi* [24] The second is chiefly from the right nostril, and is called *Pingala* (sun, or fire) and *Surya-nādi* The third is when the breath issues from the nostrils equally, which is styled *Sushumnā* and also *Sambhu-nādi* This is attributed to the influence of *Mahādeva* [P 125]

Experts in this science distinguish the excess or even breathings by placing the thumb beneath the nostril Two and a half *gharis* is the time usually allotted to the two former kinds The third occupies the time taken to pronounce a long vowel (*guru*), that is, a prolated vowel, as in *mā,* thirty-six times From the first *tithi* called *pariwā*[25] to the third *tithi,*

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[24] *Nāri,* or properly *Nādi,* signifies in Sanskrit any tubular organ of the body, vein, etc

[25] A lunar day or the thirtieth part of a whole lunation, the first of which is called *pariwā*

the order of breathing is the *Chandra-nādi*, followed by the *Surya-nādi* for the same period, and, so on, alternately, to the end of the month Some authorities regulate the order by weeks, allotting Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday to the *Surya-nādi*, and Monday, Wednesday and Friday to the *Chandra-nādi* others, according to the sun's course through the Zodiacal signs, beginning with Aries for the *Surya-nadi* breathings, Taurus for *Chandra-nādi*, and so alternately through the signs to the close of the year Others again take the retardation of the moon in the Zodiacal signs in the same manner All are however agreed that irregularity in the prescribed order is productive of temporal misfortune If the intermission continue for two or three days, quarrels will ensue, if for ten days, a misfortune will befall the wife, if for fifteen days, a severe illness will disturb the happiness of the house Should it last for a month, the brother will die If the *Surya-nādi* breathings are in excess for one day and night, the man will die after the expiration of a year If this anomaly continues for two and three days at a time, he will live a year for every day after the close of the year, according to the number of days But if it continue for one month, he will die in a month If the excess of the *Chandra-nādi* be a day and night, the man will fall ill after expiration of the year, and in the same way, according to the number of days, after the close of the year, his sickness will continue If the irregularity last for one month continuously, he will be ruined in estate If the excess of *Sushumnā* continues for ten days, the man will die at the entry of the sun into Aries If *Chandra-nādi* last this period, perturbation of mind and sickness will ensue If *Chandra-nādi* continues in operation throughout sixteen days after the entry of the Sun into Aries, symptoms of sickness will supervene When the Sun is in Scorpio, if *Chandra-nādi* continues in operation for two or five days, the man will die in eighteen years, but if the Sun be in Virgo, in fifteen years

ll are agreed that if at sun-rise, either *Surya-nādi* or *Chandra-dı* will be operative, and the reverse of either at its setting, ood fortune will result, otherwise a calamity will ensue, and the *Chandra-nādi* breathing be reversed in four *gharis*, it a sign of the occurrence of fortunate events [P 126]

According to the varied conditions of hours, days, odiacal signs, planetary movements, and manner of breath-g in the three ways, divers events attended with joy or rrow and other circumstances may be predicted The rya-nādi and *Chandra-nādi* are each five-fold, and each vision is named after one of the five elements In two aris and a half, twenty *pals* are allotted to air, thirty *pals* fire, forty *pals* to water, fifty *pals* to earth, and ten to ier [26] Some however give five *pals* to ether, ten to air, teen to fire, twenty to water, and twenty-five to earth, ich are altogether equal to a *ghari* and a quarter When s revolution is completed, the recurring series begins with rth, followed by water, fire, air and ether Some suppose e *ghari* to be allotted severally to the elements of earth, iter, fire, air and ether, and each element is distinguished the manner of the breathing If it rise upwards, it apper-ns to the element of fire, it laterally and not beyond the asure of four fingers' breath, to that of air, if it descend, that of water, its motion being sensible at a distance of elve fingers If the impulse be on a level with the nostril, ither upwards nor downwards, nor high nor low, and tending to a distance of eight fingers, it belongs to ether

In what relates to the particular conditions affecting iman actions, this science also furnishes information epose betokens the elemental influence of earth, love of nsual pleasures and interior coldness signifies that of water; iger and the conditions that dispose the good inclinations men to evil are the result of the fiery influence, and that

[26] Two and a half *gharis*=60 minutes, and a *pal* is equal to seconds

of ether produces states of divine contemplation, and the emptying of the interior soul of extraneous affections

They also erect a gnomon on a level surface of ground, and take the extent of its shadow according to determinate finger-measures, counting the length of one finger for Sunday, two for Monday, and so on, up to seven fingers for Saturday To this they add twelve more and divide the whole into five parts If no digit-index is left, it is ascribed to ether, if one, to air, if two, to fire, if three, to water, and if four, to earth

Another practice is to insert the two thumbs in the orifices of the ears, and to close the mouth with the little and fourth fingers of each hand, while the middle fingers press each nostril, and the corners of the eyes are drawn down by the fore-fingers, and the glance is directed between the brows A spherule then becomes visible If it have a quadrangular shape, and as if liquescent, it appertains to the element of earth, if it be the shape of a half-moon, and incline to white and appear hard and cold, it is of water, if it be round, bright, hard and black, and variously spotted, it is thought to belong to the element of air if triangular and luminous, to that of fire, and if no spherule be visible, it is the effect of ether

Imparting instruction, donations, visiting religious teachers and guides, repairing to the presence of idols, entering a city or house, and other particulars of movement and change of place, and (according to one opinion), undertaking a journey into a foreign country (and in accordance with general custom), buying and selling, the antidotes to various poisons, the repelling of ominous stellar influences, conditions of friendship, culling medicinal plants and herbs in the woods, operations in alchemy, works relating to [127] *Yoga* and other duties of the same gracious character, are believed to be most salutary during the *Chandra-nādi* period, while entering the presence of kings, and undertaking war are best during the *Surya-nādi*. In the *Chandra-nādi* times, in battle, the enemy should be engaged from the left, during

the *Surya-nādi*, from the right Bodily safety is generally ascribed as dependent on the particular side of the breathing The conquest of a province and (according to one opinion) travelling in one's own country, eating, sexual intercourse, bathing, imprisonment, withdrawing from any work, obstructing another's affections, and the like inauspicious actions, are suitable to the *Surya-nādi* In the *Sushumnā* period, no work is undertaken

All works of an auspicious nature are undertaken under the influence of the elements of water and earth, while those that are to be durable are chosen with reference to the elements of fire and air No good work is ascribable to ether When proceeding to any place, that foot is first lifted on whichever side the breathing is greatest, and if a person meets a superior to whom reverence is due, or from whom he expects to receive a favour, he takes care in his movements to keep that personage on the side on which he himself breathes, but an evil-disposed person, or a creditor, and the like, should be kept on the non-respiratory side They also say that upper and forward situations are dominated by *Chandra-nadi* and those inferior and behind, by *Surya-nādi*, and in both cases the parties must continue in their several positions till the action is concluded.

ANSWERS TO INQUIRERS

Should any one inquire whether a child about to be born, will be a boy or a girl, the person questioned must ascertain from which of his own nostrils the breathing is greater If the questioner be on that side, he will gladden him with the news of a son, if not, he will reply that it will be a girl If he breathes equally through both nostrils, there will be twins If it should so happen that during the inquiry, he should breathe through one nostril more than another, he will predict the extinction of that life Another opinion is that if the

questioner stand on the *Chandra-nādi* side, it will be a girl, if on the *Surya-nādi*, a boy, and if the breathing be of the kind *Sushumnā*, an hermaphrodite. Some say that the times referrible to the elements of earth and water, indicate a boy, and those of fire and air, a girl, and ether implies death If the inquiries relate to matters concerning study, tuition, marriage, menial service or its employment, attendance on the great, and buying and selling, the element of water prognosticates speedy success, that of earth, more tardy, of air, the success will be small, of fire, gain followed by loss Ether shows no benefit If the inquiry be regarding rain, the elements of earth and water indicate that rain will fall, but in the latter there is great evidence of a plentiful supply to the crops The element of air predicts clouds without rain, and fire, gentle showers Regarding questions as to crops, water and earth show that they will yield the revenue, and in the latter case a full harvest, air indicates a moderate crop, and fire that it will be burnt up No evidence of result is shown by ether Should the inquiry be relative to sickness, and if the period be *Chandra-nādi*, and the questioner be on the *Surya-nādi* side, or *vice versa*, the sick person will die, but if he stand on the *Chandra-nādi* side, the patient will quickly recover Should the question be made on the *Surya-nādi* side, the illness will be protracted, but recovery will follow Others look to the manner of the breathing If the question be put during an inspiration which is called living breath, it is a sign of life, but if during an expiration, which is styled lifeless breath, the patient will die, in all inquiries this rule is regarded A man bitten by a snake or under demoniacal possession, or mauled by a hyæna[27] is accounted among sick persons. [P. 128]

Should the question be regarding invasion by a foreign

[27] That is, a mad hyæna, which only in that state is supposed to attack a man

force. if the period be *Chandra-nādi*, and the questioner stand on that side, it indicates an affirmative, if he stand on the *Surya-nādi* side, a negative Others say that if the times appertain to the elements of earth and water, no invasion will occur, but those of fire and air denote an advance Ether gives no response If the inquiries be concerning war and peace, *Chandra-nādi* implies the latter, and *Surya-nādi* the former Some maintain that the earth-periods predict a severe engagement and that many will be wounded, while fire, air and ether point to losses on both sides Water signifies a peace If the question relate to the issue between the querist and his enemy, earth implies war, and that many will fall, fire predicts victory to the questioner, air defeat, and ether his death in the engagement, water indicates a coming peace If information be sought regarding the result of hostilities between defenders of a country and foreign troops, *Chandra-nādi* denotes victory to the former, and *Surya-nādi* to the latter Some are of opinion that if the questioner stand on the left, and the period be *Chandra-nādi*, if the letters of the name of the questioner be even he will be successful if he stand on the right, and it be *Surya-nādi*, and the number of the letters be odd, victory will rest with the latter If both names have an equal number of letters, and the questioner be on the side of the breathing nostril, the former will have the advantage, if on the side of the non-breathing nostril, the latter

If information is asked, regarding a person absent, the water-periods indicate his speedy arrival, earth, that he is settled where he is, air, that he has emigrated to another country, and fire implies his death Ether reveals nothing If the thoughts of the questioner refer to any subject of the animal, vegetable and mineral kingdoms, earth-periods imply the vegetable, water and air, the animal, and fire, the inorganic and mineral, the ether-periods point to the absence of these thoughts from the mind of the questioner

Such is this strange account, of which let the foregoing suffice.—

Agama

is a doctrinal treatise on incantations relative to things that will produce advantage or repel hurt, increase knowledge and remedy diseases, augment wealth, destroy enemies, cement friendship, secure conquest and advance good government, and the like.

Sakuna

or augury,[28] is the extraordinary art of predicting events from the motions of birds. Their song, their silence, their movements and repose, and indications of pleasure and sadness, and similar signs, discover the present and the future There are many in this country who are skilled in this important science One day, in a royal preserve, two *mainas*[29] sat perched side by side chirping low together. His Majesty deigned to inquire the subject of their converse from an expert in this divination, who replied [129] that were he to reveal their confidence to his Majesty, he would not be believed The male desired to pair while the female excused herself It was not improbable that if the nest were searched stains of blood would be found On examination being made, his words were found to be true The sooth-sayers of Hindustan foretell future events chiefly by means of five methods, the stars, breathing from the nostrils, augury, incantations, and *kevala*,[30] which is divination by the throwing of dice, and it comprises various other kinds of prognostication

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[28] *Augury* in Hastings, iv 800

[29] *Acridotheres tristis.* The word is *sār* in the Persian, a starling The *Sturnus vulgaris*, or common starling, is the *teliyā mainā*

[30] Abul Fazl spells this word carefully as *kyul* But the Sanskrit word *kevala* has nothing to do with dice-casting The word nearest to that sense is the Arabic Ka'b, meaning a cube or die, also *Ka'bt* In Sanskrit the word *kevala* means spiritual liberation or pure unalloyed knowledge [J S]

SAMUDRIKA

or Palmistry, predicts events from observation of the character of the members of the body and their movements, and from lines and marks, and the results are generally accurate

GARUDA[1]

is a science treating of snakes, scorpions, and other venomous reptiles, the effects of whose injuries it averts By reciting incantations and repeating the genealogical descent (of the person affected) and praising his ancestry, the animal is made to appear An extraordinary circumstance is the following They take an old snake of a particular kind, and after certain incantations they make it bite a Brāhman When the poison works, the man becomes senseless, in which state he answers any questions put to him, and these prove correct The Hindu sages believe that during the Kali cycle, nothing can be more true than these revelations of the unknown, and several works containing these answers are still extant

INDRA-JALA

is the art of sorcery, of magical spells, and sleight of hand The wonders performed by these means are beyond the power of expression

[1] This is the name of the 17th Purāna relating to the birth of Garuda the mythical bird of vulture, half-man, half-bird, on which Vishnu rides He is the king of birds, descended from Kasyapa and Vinatā a daughter of Daksha, and a great enemy of serpents, a hatred inherited from his mother, who had quarrelled with her co-wife Kadru, the mother of serpents He is represented as having the head, wings, and talons of an eagle, and the body and limbs of a man and has many names and epithets According to the *Mahābharata*, his parents gave him liberty to devour wicked men, but was recommended not to touch a Brāhman Curiosity, or hunger, however once prevailed, and he is said to have swallowed a Brāhman and his wife together, but his throat was so burnt in the act that he was glad to disgorge them It is probably this circumstance which gave rise to the practice mentioned by Abul Fazl

RASA-VIDYA

or Alchemy, is the science of the fusing of mercury (*rasa*), gold, silver, copper, and the like. It is by this art that the elixir, or philosopher's stone, is produced

RATNA-PARIKSHA

is the art of testing jewels and precious stones of various kinds, and treats of their production, properties, value, and kindred subjects

KAMA-SASTRA

treats of the generation of the human race [P 130]

CHAPTER VII

SAHITYA

or rhetorical composition, is a science comprising various kinds of knowledge It sets forth the shades of signification in words, appropriateness of expression, and solecisms of language They hold the Supreme Being to be its author The meaning underlying a word is said to be four-fold —(1). *Sakti* (*power* of a word), is denotation and its conventional relation to the thing designated (2) *Lakshanā* (indication)[1] communicates the applied meaning desired (3) *Gauna*, (qualitative), illustrates figuratively the thing compared (4) *Vyanjanā* (suggestion), is to say one thing and mean another which has no apparent application As, for example, a woman sent her maid-servant with a message to call her husband who, when she entered his private apartment, used criminal familiarity with her and sent an excuse by her for his not returning When she took back the message, from the pallor of her face

[1] This term is thus explained in the *Sāhitya Darpana*, by Visvanātha Kavirāja, to which work Abul Fazl is apparently indebted for his information The power by which in such an expression as 'the impetuous Kalinga a word such as 'Kalinga,' incompatible with the epithet impetuous ' if taken in its own sense of a particular country on the Coromandel coast, causes one to think not of the country but the men connected therewith this power communicated to it, other than that which belongs to it naturally, is called Indication Of this element in the drama there are 6 kinds The treatise classes a word according to the three-fold accident of its function, as Expressive, Indicative and Suggestive The *expressed* meaning is termed *Vāchya*, conveyed to the understanding by the word's denotation (*abhidha*, literally, power or sense of a word) as a cow', or horse', the *meaning indicated* is held to be conveyed by the word's indication, *lakshanā*, as above explained the *meaning suggested* (*vyangya*), is conveyed by the word's Suggestion (*vyanjanā*) 'Indication'' has a further eight-fold subdivision into pure (*suddha*), and qualitative (*gauna*), which latter Abul Fazl classes separately though acknowledging, later on, its inclusion by some authors under the second head c p 16 and ff of Pramadā Dāsa Mitra's translation of the above treatise

and the obliteration of her marks of sandal-wood and collyrium, and of the colour (from her lips), the wife understood what had really occurred Though much pained, she showed no signs of it in her speech, but said,—'You are speaking on untruth, you never went to fetch him, but you went to the banks of the stream and bathed, for the collyrium is no longer round your eyes nor the sandal-wood unguent on your person' By this delicate irony she discovered her knowledge of what had taken place, and her own distress of mind [2]

Some consider the figurative sense (*gauna*), to belong to the second head, and they describe with pecular force and elaborate detail all that makes for literary ornament and grace of expression It is held to be the highest form of dramatic poetry, of rhetorical art and metrical composition [3] This science also comprises the *Navarasa*, or the nine sentiments, which inspire universal interest The first is *Sringāra-rasa* (the erotic passion), that is, the mutual affection of men and women, and all that relates to their union and separation Secondly, *Hāsya-rasa*, mirth of various kinds This is produced, they say, by variations in person, speech, action and dress It is three-fold —1. *Smita*, (smile), a slight alteration in cheek, eye and lip (2) *Vihasita* (gentle laugh), in which the mouth is a little open (3) *Apahasita*, laughter accompanied by sound of the voice [4] [P 131] Thirdly, *Karuna-rasa*, pity or regret, as at the loss of a friend or property Fourthly, *Raudra*, anger Fifthly, *Vira* (heroism), the admiration produced by acts of munificence, clemency and valour

[2] This identical example occurs in the *Sahitya Darpana*

[3] This refers to Chapters IV and V on what is called "Suggestive poetry," which is regarded as its chief beauty The Sanskrit term for this figurative style is *Dhvani*, and it is said by the author of the work of this name, "Like a beautiful woman with a single member ornamented, the sentence of a good poet shines with 'Suggestion' displayed by a single word"—*Sahitya Darpana*, p 150

[4] A fourth division is mentioned in the S D *viz*, *Atihasita*, convulsion of laughter, where the limbs lose all control

Sixthly *Bhayānaka*, terror Seventhly, *Bibhatsa*, aversion Eighthly, *Adbhuta*, wonder, as at the sight of any (extraordinary object. Ninthly, *Sānta* (quietism), the tranquillity that comes of knowledge and the indifference which regards friend and foe as alike Of these they make various subdivisions and illustrate them by delightful examples [1]

The relations between the sexes are also considered in this branch of knowledge, and the passion of love amply discussed In Irān and Turān, this affection chiefly subsists between men, in Hindustan and Hijāz, between men and women Devotion to the female sex is the characteristic of the Arab, while the native of India includes both sexes alike in his regard

The Hindus term a heroine (in dramatic poetry), *nāyika*, and three kinds are named (1) *Sviyā*, (own wife), a virtuous woman devoted to her husband from modesty she looks neither to the right hand nor to the left, but only from the corner of her eyes so that her glance is rarely seen her laugh does not pass beyond her lips and her teeth are not disclosed she speaks seldom and never loudly she rarely loses her temper and if she be provoked to anger, it is restrained within her heart and does not appear in her eyes or manner (2) *Parakiyā*, (belonging to another), is one who clandestinely carries on an intrigue with other than her husband If a married woman she is called *Praudha*, a maiden, *Kanyakā* Other classifications of this kind are carried to an indefinite extent *Sāmānyā* (courtesan), is the property of none, and is concerned only in making money

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[1] A tenth is sometimes added, *vātsalya*, paternal fondness, but according to others there are only eight *rasas*, the last two being omitted These affections are supposed to lend to dramatic composition its relish and interest, and examples are culled from works that illustrate their force and beauty, as for instance, Bhava-bhuti s drama of the *Vira-charita* exemplifies the *rasa* of heroism, the *Mahābhārata* that of quietism or tranquillity, etc These various sentiments are discussed and evidenced by instances from dramatic poetry in the *Sāhitya-darpana*

Sviyā is classed under three heads —(1). *Mugdhā*, (artless), one who from her childish age and inexperience goes[6] out-of-doors, and in whom youth begins to grow head-strong, and who may be to some extent conscious of her beauty or otherwise, and shrinks from the embraces of her husband When she retires to sleep, she regards him furtively and pretends to slumber lest he should enter into conversation but from fear of him sleeps not The age of such a one ranges from eight to twelve and at times to thirteen (2) *Madhyā* (middling or adolescent) is one in whom modesty and love for her husband are combined in an equal degree She may speak in anger [132] but never thus to her husband Her age does not exceed thirty-two (3) *Pragalbhā* (bold or mature) makes her love and address pleasing to her husband and captivates him by her experienced arts The age of this kind extends to fifty-two years

The last two are further subdivided into three classes (1) *Dhirā* (constant) If her husband pay attention to another woman, though fired by jealousy, she becomes more assiduous in her devotion and service and by this means makes him ashamed of his conduct (2) *Adhirā* (capricious) Such a one takes no notice of his infidelity and holds her peace, but she will address him cheerfully so as to cover him with confusion and say —"It is strange that while you are wakeful, my eyes glance love and while you are drunk with wine, my heart is in agitation " (3) *Dhirā Adhirā*, is one who unites both these dispositions and sighs to show that she understands Some add a conversation after the manner above indicated.

Sviyā is also of two kinds (1) *Jyeshthā* (pre-eminent, eldest), is one who is preferred by her husband above all

[6] This appears to be an error The Sāhitya Darpana says that she never goes out of the inner apartments, no longer laughs unconstrainedly, but practises every moment some bashful restraint Little she speaks," etc Verses taken from the marriage of *Prabhāvati* by the author

women (2) *Kanisthā* (inferior, youngest) is one for whom her husband's affection is less strong

Parakiyā is of five kinds (1) *Guptā* (guarded) covers her conduct, and skilfully conceals her past indiscretions and her future designs, feigning plausible excuses If for instance she has been scratched by her lover's nail, she will say "I cannot sleep in this room —a cat chases a mouse, and in the scramble gives me this scratch" (2) *Vidagdhā* (adroit or artful) By her persuasive speech she acquires influence and her winning manners secure it (3) *Lakshitā* (notorious), shows her affection openly and without fear (4) *Kulatā* (unchaste), has many lovers and retains the affections of each without pecuniary considerations (5) *Anusayānā* (regretting), is one who from timidity does not keep her assignation and is fearful lest her lover come and not find her

They also class women under eight heads —(1) *Proshita-bhartrikā* is one *whose husband is abroad*, and she is distressed at his absence from her, or he is on the point of setting out and she is disquieted by her fears Other opinions subdivide this, making nine classes (2) *Khanditā* is one who is disconsolate at being *betrayed* by her husband or lover [P 133] (3) *Kalahāntarita* is one *who has quarrelled* with her lover and is penitent and wishes to appease him (4) *Vipra-labdhā* goes to an assignation but is *disappointed* at not finding her lover (5) *Utkā'* is *disconsolate* at her lover's not coming, and seeks the cause thereof (6) *Vāsakasajjā* is joyful at the coming of her lover, and is *dressed in her ornaments* to receive him (7) *Svādhina-patikā*, (independent—having her own way), is a woman whose lover is obedient to her wishes (8) *Abhisārikā*, is one who invites her lover, or herself *goes to* him

Another classification of women is of three kinds — (1). *Uttamā* (best), is one who is in love with her husband

Utkanthitā is the more correct term in the heroic drama for a woman who longs after her absent lover or husband

though he show her no affection (2) *Adhamā* (worst), opposite of the above (3) *Madhyamā* (intermediate), is sometimes united in harmony and affection with her husband and at times is unfriendly and estranged

A further division is four-fold —(1) *Padmini*, is incomparable for her beauty and good disposition, and is tall of stature Her limbs are perfectly proportioned, her voice soft, her speech gracious though reserved, and her breath fragrant as the rose She is chaste and obedient to her husband (2) *Chitrini*, is somewhat inferior to the former, is neither stout nor thin, has a slender waist and a full bust (3) *Sankhini*, is fat and short, constantly quarrelling with her husband and has a violent temper (4) *Hastini*, is repulsive in appearance and manners

All these are treated at length, with the particular classes of men that are suited to each *Māna* signifies indignation in a woman at misconduct on the part of her husband It is of four kinds —(1) *Laghu*, (trifling), when she gives herself airs at the least caress or endearment of her husband or lover (2) *Madhya* (middling), is when she is estranged by some slight provocation (3) *Guru* (weighty), when after much exertion [entreaty] on his part, [P 134] she lays aside her wayward humour (4) *Rasābhasa* (simulated sentiment), is when she refuses reconciliation

The lover or hero (in a drama) is called *Nāyaka* These also are named suitably to the heroines, but are restricted to three —(1) *Pati* (lord or husband), chooses in wedlock only a Hindu woman. (2) *Upapati* (paramour) (3) *Vaishayika*, a sensualist

Each of these is subdivided into four kinds —(1) *Anukula*, (faithful), is attached to one woman only (2) *Dakshina* (impartial), pays his addresses to many, and adroitly secures the favours of all (3) *Dhrishta*, (cool or impudent), is one whom the heroine in her indignation repels while he caresses and flatters her the more (4) *Satha*,

(perfidious), by cunning and simulating affection wins her heart (though attached to another)[8]

In the treatment of love-episodes, the greatest art is shown in the situations of the hero and heroine and the dramas abound with the most felicitous passages

Sakhi is the term for the usual female confidante on whose faithful service the heroine relies Her advice and devotion are of the greatest comfort She jests and amuses her mistress and never fails her in the time of need She arranges her ornaments and assists in tiring her By her persuasive representations she removes the misunderstandings between husband and wife and effects a reconciliation She is ever ready with her counsel and good offices, and is entrusted with messages Such a female is called *duti*, if a man, *duta* She is conversant with all the mysteries of union and separation and is an expert in matters connected with love and rivalry

In this art the manners and bearing of the hero and the heroine are set forth with much variety of exposition, and illustrated by delightful examples The works on this subject should be consulted by those who are interested in its study

SANGITA

is the art of singing accompanied by music and dancing The subject is treated in seven chapters (*adhyāyas*)

THE FIRST is *Svaradhyāya*, on musical tone which is of two kinds [135] (1) *Anahata* sound produced without cause (*i e* , otherwise than by percussion) This is considered to be one and eternal If a man close both orifices of his

[8] These four divisions are subdivided into sixteen The cool or impudent lover is thus amusingly exemplified in the *Sahitya Darpana* Perceiving her countenance crimson with passion, I went near intending to kiss her She spurned me with her foot , but having humbly caught hold of it I burst out laughing O my friend, the anger of the fair-browed one, shedding tears, from her then being unable to do anything prolongs whenever thought of, the amusement of my mind, p 59

ears with his fingers, he will be conscious of a resonance, and this is signified by the above term They believe this to proceed from *Brahmā*, and when the consciousness of it becomes habitual and it is heard without mediate aid, final liberation (*mukti*) is then attained (2) *Ahata*, sound produced by a cause, which, like speech, is accounted a quality of air and is produced by percussion and protrusion They say that in each of the three locations of the abdomen, the throat, and the head, twenty-two fibres or chords have been divinely created The primary movement of air is from the navel, and the volume of sound produced depends upon the strength or softness of the initial force exerted [9]

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[9] The doctrine of the vital airs has already preceded in the account of the schools of Hindu philosophy The abdomen is supposed to be the seat of the fire which keeps up the heat of the body and this fire is surrounded and retained in place by the airs called *Samāna*. In the Pātanjala system, by the subdual of this air, the perfected Yogin appears illumined by the radiance of the flame which then escapes from the body The same internal heat plays an important part in the production of the voice According to Rājah Sir Sourindro Mohun Tagore, in his pamphlet, *The Twenty-two Musical Srutis of the Hindus*, when the animal soul wishes to speak the mind acts on the abdominal fire which mixes with the vital air pervading the ligament known as *Brahma Granthi*, below the navel This vital air thus expands causing in the navel the *ati sukshma nāda*, or the very minute sound in the chest, the *sukshma* or the minute in the throat, the *pushta*, or the developed in the head the *apushta*, or suppressed and in the mouth, the *kritrima*, or artificial Connected with or based upon these chords, are the twenty-two *srutis* or particles of sound sensible to the ear, which are essential to the formation of the Hindu *Saptaka*, or heptachord

It is strange that, though the *srutis* form the basis of Hindu Music, Abul Fazl does not mention the term nor allude to them except by implication as vocal chords in the human frame

The *Srutis* are personified as Nymphs, and have each their name, though varying in different writers The 21 *murchhanās*, which also play an important part in Hindu Music, are omitted by Abul Fazl

Sangita Ratnakāra, (Ed Vedantavāgisa and Sāradā Prasāda Ghosha, p 61) These *Murchhanās* and not the *rāgas* may be said to correspond to the Greek—modes of the Æolian Lydian, Ionic, Doric or Phrygian, so named according to the character of the sentiments they inspired The effect of the different *murchhanās* when played on the *sitāra*, is very striking

They consider that the fifth, sixth, eighteenth and nineteenth chords are mute and the remaining eighteen are classed under the seven primary notes in the following order —

(1) *Shadja*,[10] is taken from the note of the peacock (and extends to the fourth chord) (2) *Rishabha*, is taken from the note of the *Papiha* (Coccystes Melanoleucos), and beginning after the fourth chord (omitting the fifth and sixth), extends from the seventh to the tenth (3) *Gāndhāra*, is from the bleating of a he-goat and its compass extends from the ninth to the thirteenth (4) *Madhyama*, resembles the cry of the Coolen Crane[11] (*Ardea Sibirica*), and its compass is from the thirteenth to the sixteenth (5) *Panchama*, is taken from the note of the *Ka'il* (*Cuculus Indicus*), and is attuned on the seventeenth (6) *Dhaivata*, is like the croak of the frog, and its compass extends from the twentieth[12] to the twenty-second (7) *Nishāda* is taken from the sound of the elephant and its compass is from the twenty-second to the third of the next series (of twenty-two) Each heptachord occurs successively in each series, and in the third, *Nishāda*, cannot, of course, go beyond the twenty-second chord

A system of intervals in which the whole seven notes of the gamut are employed, is termed *Sampurna* If there be only six, the fundamental must be one of them, and it is styled *Shādava*, if five, *Audava*, the fundamental being of necessity one of them None has fewer than these, but the *tāna* which is a separate intonation may consist of two [13]

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[10] Pronounced *Sharja* It means literally six-born *i e*, the fundamental from which the other six notes arise

[11] According to the *Sangita Darpana* the note is that of the *Krauncha*, or heron (*Arden Jaculator*)

[12] The text has eight, which must be an error for twenty The seven notes of the scale are represented by the seven initial syllables of their names after the manner of Guido s notation thus Sa, ri, ga ma, pa dha ni corresponding to our,—

D E F G A B C

and the *S'rutis* are allotted to the several notes as follows to *Sa*, *ma* and *pa*, four, to *ri* and *dha*, three, to *ga* and *ni*, two

[13] By the term *naghma* which I have rendered system of intervals, a *murchhanā* must be meant Each *murchhanā* is said to

THE SECOND is *Rāga-vivekādhyāya*, on divers musical compositions and their variations [14]

Their origin is ascribed to *Mahādeva* and (his wife) *Pārvati* The first-mentioned had five mouths, from each of which issued a melody in the following order —

(1) *Sri-rāga* (2) *Vasanta* (3) *Bhairava* (4) *Panchama* (5) *Megah* (6) *Nata-Narāyana* was produced by *Pārvati*

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be *sampurna* or complete when all seven notes are employed, and *asampurna* when defective When wanting one it is called Shādava and wanting two Audava In the *murchhanās of Sharja, sa, ri, pa, ni*, and in those of *Madhyama sa, ri, ga*, used to be omitted one at a time, to make *Shadavi Murchhanās* which were 49 in number *viz* 28 of Sharja and 21 of Madhyama The *Audavi murchhanās* of *Sharja* were formed by omitting *sa, pa*, or *ri pa*, or *ga ni*, and were therefore 21 The omission of *ri*, and *dha*, at one time, and at another of *ga* and *ni*, formed the twelve *Audavi murchhanās* of Madhyama The total number of these latter is therefore 35 in the two *grāmas* which with the 49 *shādavis* make 84 *asampurna murchhanās* which were called *tānas* by some authors The various combinations of the different notes in a *murchhanā*, are called *tanas*, each from seven notes to one, having a separate name The aggregate combinations of all these by a process of simple arithmetic show a total of 13,699

[14] So I render 'maqam'' and shubah ' by which Abul Fazl signifies *ragas* and *rāginis* Willard and Carey dispute the usual translation of *rāga* by *mode*, and Sir S M Tagore confirms their dissent by his own he says there is no corresponding term in English for *rāga* From an able article in the *Cal Rev*, CXXXVII of 1879 by Sārada Prasāda Ghosha the learned co-editor of the Sangita Ratnakāra to which I am already indebted for the substance of this information on the *murchhanās* and *tānas*, I borrow the following explanation of the *rāga* It is defined as a musical composition consisting of not less than five notes of a *Murchhanā* (mark this term) in accordance with certain rules with a view to a particular æsthetic effect The chief rules are that a note is assumed with which the Rāga begins This is called *graha*, another with which it must invariably end called *nyāsa*, a third which is the tonic or predominant repeated oftener than the others, and perhaps more noticeable also in the *time*, and called *ansa* or *bādi* a fourth, which is 9 or 13 *srutis* above or below the *bādi*, used almost as frequently and termed *sambādi* A *rāga* differs from another consisting of notes of a different *murchhanā*, when a *bādi sambādi* or *grāha*, etc , in the one is not the same in the other Other distinctions and subtleties of interchange and mutilations of the scale produce countless varieties of the *rāga* It will be thus seen that the *rāga* depends chiefly on its *murchhanā* which can produce only *rāgas* in a certain setting the change of the *murchhanā, bādi* and *sambādi* altering the class of the *rāga*

Each of these six modes is called in Sanskrit *Rāga*, and they are reckoned the primary orders of sound. Each of them has numerous variations.

The *Sri-raga* has the whole seven notes (*sampurna*) of the gamut. In this, *Rishabha* has a compass to the eighth chord, *Gāndhara* to the tenth, *Madhyama* to the thirteenth, and *Dhaivata* to the twenty-first. *Nishada* is allotted but one. And in like manner other changes occur throughout all the modifications.

1. VARIATIONS OF SRI-RAGA.—(1) *Malavi*. (2) *Trivani*[15]. (3) *Gauri*. (4) *Kedāri*. (5) *Madhu-madhavi*. (6) *Vihāri*.

2. VARIATIONS OF VASANTA.—(1) *Desi*. (2) *Devagiri*. (3) *Vairāti*. (4) *Todi*. (5) *Lalitā*. (6) *Hindoli*.

3. VARIATIONS OF BHAIRAVA.—(1) *Madhya-madi*. (2) *Bhairavi*. [137] (3) *Bāngah*. (4) *Varātaka*. (5) *Sindavi*. (6) *Punarjneyā*[16].

4. VARIATIONS OF PANCHAMA.—(1) *Vibhasa*. (2) *Bhupali*. (3) *Kānarā*. (4) *Badhansikā*. (5) *Malasri*. (6) *Padhamanjari*.

5. VARIATIONS OF MEGHA.—(1) *Malai*. (2) *Sorathi*. (3) *Asāvari*. (4) *Kaisuki*. (5) *Gāndhari*. (6) *Harsingari*.

6. VARIATIONS OF NATA NARAYANA.—(1) *Kamodi*. (2) *Kalyāni*. (3) *Ahiri*. (4) *Suddhanāta*. (5) *Salak*. (6) *Nat-Hamira*.

Some allow only five variations to each mode and numerous other differences occur. Others in place of *Vasanta*,

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[15] I take the following variants from the *Sangita Darpana*,—*Trivana*, *Kedara* and *Pahari*. Many of the terms given by Abul Fazl below, also differ from the names in the *Sahitya Darpana*.

[16] This is a blunder through ignorance of Sanskrit from which Abul Fazl's pandits should have saved him. This list is taken from *Hanuman* who gives but five *Rāginis* in the exact order of the names in Abul Fazl and concludes the fifth in the S. D. with the *sloka* पुनर् भ्रमा भरवस्य वरागना i.e. *and* (Sindavi etc.) *are to be understood* as the beautiful wives of Bhairava'. The words in italics have been mistaken by Abul Fazl for the name of a *Ragini*.

Panchama and *Megha*, substitute *Mālakausika*, *Hindola* and *Dipaka*, and make five instead of six variations to each, with a few other discrepancies of less importance [138] Others again, in place of the second, third, fourth and fifth modes, have *Suddha-bhairava*, *Hindola*, *Desakāra* and *Suddha-nāta*.

Songs are of two kinds The first is called *Mārga* or the lofty style as chanted by the gods and great Rishis, which is in every country the same, and held in great veneration The masters of this style are numerous in the Dekhan,[17] and the six modes abovementioned with numerous variations of which the following are examples, are held by them to appertain to it

(1) *Surya-prakāsa* (2) *Pancha-tālesvara* (3) *Sarvatobhadra* (4) *Chandra-prakāsa* (5) *Rāga-kadamba* (6) *Jhumara* (7) *Svaravartani*

The second kind is called *Desi* or applicable to the special locality, like the singing of the *Dhrupad* in Agra, Gwalior, Bāri and the adjacent country When Mān Singh[18] (Tonwar) ruled as Rājā of Gwalior, with the assistance of *Nāyak Bakshu*, *Macchu*, and *Bhanu*, who were the most distinguished musicians of their day, he introduced a popular style of melody which was approved even by the most refined

[17] According to Capt Day (*The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India*, Chap VIII), from early times Tanjore has been the chief seat of Music in Southern India, and most of the chief Karnātik musicians have either lived there or were educated in the Tanjore School

[18] See p 611 n Vol I The fame of the Gwalior School of Music dates from the reign of this prince. Bakshu continued at the court of Bikramājit, the son of Mān Singh, and after his death entered the service of Rājā Kirat of Kālinjar, whence he was invited to the court of Gujarāt Bayley in his *History of Gujarāt*, speaks of a minstrel called *Bacchu* attached to Sultān Bahādur s court, who was taken before Humāyun on the capture of Mandu in 1535 The Emperor had given orders for a general massacre, but being told that this musician had not his equal in Hindustan, he was directed to sing and so charmed the royal ear, that he was given a dress of honour and attached to the court He subsequently fled to Sultān Bahādur who was so rejoiced at his return that he declared his every wish fulfilled and sorrow banished from his heart

taste On his death, *Bakshu* and *Machhu* passed into the service of Sultān Mahmud of Gujarāt where his new style came into universal favour

The *Dhurpad*[19] (Dhruva-pada) consists of four rhythmical lines without any definite prosodial length of words or syllables It treats of the fascinations of love and its wondrous effects upon the heart In the Dekhan these songs are expressed in their language by the term *Chind*, and consist of three or four lines, and are chiefly laudatory In the Tilanga and Carnatic [P 139] dialects they are called *Dhruva*, and their subject is erotic. Those of Bengal are called *Bangala*, and those of Jounpur, *Chutkala*, while the songs of Delhi are called *kaul* and *tarāna*. These last were introduced by *Amir Khusaru*, of Delhi, in concert with *Sāmit* and *Tatār*, and by combining the several styles of Persia and India, form a delightful variety The songs of Mathura are called *Bishn-pad*, (Vishnu-pada) consisting of four, six and eight lines, sung in honour of Vishnu Those of Sind are styled *Kāmi* and are amatory Those in the dialect of *Tirhut* are called *Lahchāri*, and are the composition of *Biddyā-pat*, and in character highly erotic In Lahor and the adjacent parts, they are called *Chhand*, those of Gujarāt, *Jakri*[20]

[19] Willard calls the *Dhurpad* the heroic song of Hindustan, the subject being frequently the recital of the memorable actions of their heroes and also treating of love and even of trifling and frivolous topics Its origin he ascribes to Rājā Mān Singh whom he calls the father of *Dhurpad* singers *Chind* in the text I suspect to be an error for *Chhand* (Sansk *Chhandas*) a sacred hymn and also a musical measures, *Dhruva* signifies the introductory stanza or recurring verse of a poem or song repeated as a refrain *Chutkala* is a jest or pleasantry and these songs resemble probably the ancient Fescennine verses designed to catch the coarse and indelicate humour of the mob The *Bishan-pad* according to Willard, was introduced by the blind (*sur*) poet and musician *Sur Das* His name occurs in Blochmann s list, p 617, I Of Samit and Tatar I find no mention Some of these singers came from Mashhad, Tabriz, Kashmir, and from beyond the Oxus

[20] By Willard *Zikri*, a much more probable name, as they are on the subject of morality This class of religious song was introduced into Hindustan by *Qazi Mahmud* V Willard s treatise on *The Music of Hindustan*

The war songs and heroic chants called *Karkha*, they term *Sādara*, and these consist also of four, six, and eight lines, and are sung in various dialects

Besides these that have been named, there are numerous other modes, amongst which are the following.—

Sārang; Purbi, Dhanāsri, Rāmkali; Kurāi, (which His Majesty has styled *Sughrāi*),[21] *Suha, Desakāla* and *Desākha*

THE THIRD is called *Prakirnādhyāya* or a chapter of miscellaneous rules and treats of *Alāpa*,[22] which is of two kinds (1) *Rāgālapa*, the development of the *rāga*, commonly termed (in Persian) *adā* and *tasarruf*, and (2) *Rupālāpa* which comprises the metrical setting of the words to the air and their vocal expression [P 140]

THE FOURTH, or *Prabandhādhyāya*, is on the art of composing a rhythmic measure (*gita*)[23] to vocal music It consists of six members, *viz* (1) *Svara*, (notes as *sa, ri*, &c , taken at their proper pitch) (2) *Viruda*, panegyric (3) *Pada*, name of its object (4) *Tena*, a cadence of notes on a symbolic standard, as *tena, tenā*, and the modulation of the lines (5) *Pāta*, the continuous imitation of sounds (proceeding from percussion instruments) as *tena, tenā, mānā*, &c , from three letters to twenty, in a specific order as a supplementary guiding measure (6) *Tāla*, rhythm expressed by beat If the

[21] Probably to change the ominous name, *Kurāi*, signifying stocks for the feet, and *Sughrāi*, beauty or grace

[22] Sir S M Tagore explains in his "*Six Principal Rāgas*," that it is a practice with singers, before commencing a song to develop the character of the *rāga* by means of *gamakas*, and *tanas* This is called *alāpa* in which the notes peculiar to the *rāga* are sung as a prelude to show its character

[23] *Pada* technically is a sentence formed of words having a meaning *Tena*, meaningless words used by singers to exhibit the air alone, unaccompanied by words The six members of the *Gita* may be thus briefly exemplified —

1st (*Svara*), *sa, ga, ri, sa*
2nd (*Viruda*), Thou art my God
3rd (*Pada*), I look to thee
4th (*Tena*), Tena, na, te, na
5th (*Pāta*), Dha, Dhin, Kath, Thege
6th (*Tāla*), beats by hand at equal intervals

whole six members be present, the composition (*prabandha*) is called *medini*;[21] if one less, it is termed *ānandini*, if two less, *dipani*, if three less, *bhāvani*, and if four less, *tārāvali*; but with only two it does not (commonly) occur

These four *adhyāyas* treat of the various refinements of melody

THE FIFTH is *Tālādhyāya*, on the nature and quantity of the musical beats

THE SIXTH is *Vādyādhyāya*, on the various musical instruments These are of four kinds

(1) *Tata*, stringed instruments (2) *Vitata*, instruments over which skin is stretched (3) *Ghana*, all that gives resonance by the concussion of two solid bodies (4) *Sushira*, wind instruments

THE FIRST KIND, OR STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

The *Yantra*[25] is formed of a hollow neck of wood a yard in length, at each end of which are attached the halves of two gourds Above the neck are sixteen frets over which are strung five steel wires fastened securely at both ends The low and high notes and their variations are produced by the disposition of the frets

The *Vinā* (Hindi *Bin*) resembles the *Yantra*, but has three strings

The *Kinnar* resembles the *Vina*, but with a longer finger-board and has three gourds and two wires[26]

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[24] Sir S M Tagore makes *tāla* synonymous with *chhandas*, or metre and guiding its movement The beat conforms to the variety of the metre, upon the rhythmic feet of which is based, as with the Greeks, their musical measure

[25] *Yantra* (Hindi, Jantra) signifies an instrument of any kind I do not anywhere find mention of a particular musical instrument under this name

[26] A coloured drawing of this instrument, as well as of the *Vinā* and most of those mentioned in the text, will be found in Capt Day's superb volume, *Music of Southern India*. The plates, besides their utility as illustrations, are artistically beautiful and a description of the instrument accompanies each

The *Sar-vına* is also like the *Vına* but without frets

[141] The *Amrıtı* has the finger-board shorter than the *Sar-vınā*, and a small gourd below the upper side, and one steel wire upon which all the scales may be played

The *Rabāb*[27] has six strings of gut, but some have twelve and others eighteen

The *sarmandal*[28] is like the *Kānun* It has twenty-one strings, some of steel, some of brass, and some of gut

The *Sārangı* is smaller than the *Rabāb* and is played like the *Ghıchak*[29]

The *Pınāk*, called also *Sur-bıtāna*, is of wood about the length of a bow and slightly bent A string of gut is fastened to it and a hollow cup inverted, is attached at either end It is played like the *Ghıchak*, but in the left hand a small gourd is held which is used in playing

The *Adhatı* has one gourd and two wires

The *Kıngara* resembles the *Vınā*, but has two strings of gut and smaller gourds

The Second Kind of Instruments

The *Pakhāwaj*[30] is made of a thick shell of wood shaped like a myrobolan and hollow It is over a yard in length and if clasped round the middle, the fingers of the two hands will meet The ends are a little larger in circumference than the

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[27] This name, if not the instrument is of Arabian origin Specimens of the *Rabāb*, as well as of the *kānun*, the lute and other instruments are given in Lane s *Modern Egyptians*, Chap XVIII

[28] Capt Day writes the name *Svara-Māndala*, and calls it the *Kanun* or Indian Dulcimer, the strings of brass and steel, and occasionally gut, and played with two plectra worn on the finger-tips

[29] This is a kind of Persian lute A specimen of the *Sārangı*, or fiddle, will be found in Day

[30] One of Capt Day's plates represents this drum under the name of the *Mrıdang* by which it is best known in Southern India The two heads are tuned to the tonic, and fourth or fifth The centre of the smaller head is coated with a composition of resin, oil and wax and an embroidered cloth is commonly stretched over the upper side of the shell as an ornament It is beaten by the hands, finger-tips and wrists, and is well enough known throughout India

mouth of a pitcher and are covered with skin It is furnished with leather braces which are strained, as in the *nakāra* or kettle-drum, and four pieces of wood, under a span in length, are inserted (between the shell and the braces) on the left side and serve to tune the instrument

The *Awaj* is made of a hollow piece of wood, and might be described as two kettle-drums joined at the reverse ends and their heads covered with skin and braced with thongs

The *Duhul*[31] (drum) is well-known

The *Dhadda* is like the *Duhul* but very small

The *Ardhāwaj* is half the size of the *Awaj*

The *Daf*, or tambourine, is well-known [32]

The *Khanjari* is a tambourine smaller than the *Daf*, but with cymbals, and its surface is about the size of a pitcher [33]

The Third Kind of Instruments

The *Tāla* is a pair of brass cymbals like cups with broad mouths

The *Kath Tāla*, or castanets, are small and fish-shaped The set consists of four pieces, of wood or stone

The Fourth Kind of Instruments

[142] The *Shahnā*,[34] called in Persian *Surnā*

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[31] This is the Persian equivalent of the ordinary Dhol of Hindustan

Capt Day describes it as an octagonal frame of wood, about 6 inches deep and 3 feet in diameter, covered on one side with skin and strained by means of a network of thin leather thongs It is struck with the fingers of the right hand, and a thin switch held perpendicularly over it by the fingers of the left is made to strike the instrument at intervals, according to the time It has no cymbals

It is a wooden hoop 8 or 9 inches in diameter and 3 or 4 inches deep, bored out of the solid In the hoop are three or four slits containing pieces of metal strung together which clash as the tambourine is shaken

[34] They are both Persian words, the *Shahnā*, or *Shahnāi*, being literally the king-pipe, a kind of clarion or oboe The word *Surna* is also written as *Surnāi*

The *Mashk*, or bagpipe, is composed of two reeds perforated according to rule and attached (to the bag) It is called in Persian *Nai-ambān*.[35]

The *Murli* is a kind of flute

The *Upang* is a hollow reed a yard long, the upper part of which has a hole in the centre in which a reed is inserted

THE SEVENTH is *Nrityādhyāya*, or the art of dancing

On the Classes of Singers

Having cursorily reviewed the subject of vocal and instrumental music, I turn to a brief mention of their musicians

The chanters of the ancient hymns which were everywhere the same, were called *Vaikāras*, and their teachers were styled *Sahakāras* The *Kalāants*, or more commonly *Kalāvants* or bards, are well known, and sing the *Dhurpad*

The *Dhādhis* are the Punjabi singers who play upon the *Dhadda* and the *Kingara* They chiefly chant the praises of heroes on the field of battle and lend fresh spirit to the fight The *Kawwālis*[36] are of this class, but sing mostly after the Delhi and Jounpur style and Persian verses in the same manner

The *Hurkiyah* men play upon the *Huruk*, which is also called *Awaj*, and the women the *Tāla*, and they also sing Formerly they chanted the *Karkha*, but nowadays only the *Dhurpad*, and the like Many of the women add great beauty to their musical accomplishments

The *Dafzan*, or tambourine player The *Dhādhi* women chiefly play on the *Daf* and the *Duhul*, and sing the *Dhurpad*

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[35] The smaller of the two pipes is used to inflate the bag which is made of the skin of a kid It is used merely as a drone, the holes in the pipe are wholly or partially stopped with wax to tune the instrument to pitch The drone is of cane, mounted in a stock of the same material which contains the reed The whole reed is in one piece Black wax is used to make the instrument wind-tight It is also called *sruti-upanga* Day's *Music of Southern India*, Plate XVI

[36] The professional chanters and story-tellers

and the *Sohlā* on occasions of nuptial and birthday festivities in a very accomplished manner Formerly they appeared only before assemblies of women but now before audiences of men

The *Sczdah-tāli* The men of this class have large drums, and the women, while they sing, play upon thirteen pairs of *talas* at once, two being on each wrist, two on the joint of each elbow, two on the junction of the shoulder blades, and two on each shoulder, one on the breast and two on the fingers of each hand They are mostly from Gujarāt and Mālwah [P 143]

The *Natwas* exhibit some graceful dancing, and introduce various styles to which they sing They play upon the *Paḳhāwaj*, the *Rabāb* and the *Tāla*

The *Kirtaniya* are Brāhmans, whose instruments are such as were in use among the ancients They dress up smooth-faced boys as women and make them perform, singing the praises of Krishna and reciting his acts

The *Bhagatiya* have songs similar to the above, but they dress up in various disguises and exhibit extraordinary mimicry They perform at night

The *Bhanvayya* resemble the last-named, but they exhibit both by night and day Sitting and standing in the compass of a copper dish called in Hindi, *thali*, they sing in various modes and go through wonderful performances

The *Bhānd* play the *Duhul* and *Tāla* and sing and mimic men and animals

The *Kanjari* The men of this class play the *Paḳhāwaj*, the *Rabāb* and the *Tāla*, while the women sing and dance His Majesty calls them *Kanchanis*

The *Nats* are rope-dancers, and perform wonderful acrobatic feats They play on the *Tāla* and *Duhul*

The *Bahu-rupi* exhibit their mimicry by day youths disguise themselves as old men so successfully that they impose upon the most acute observers.

The *Bāzigar* performs wonderful feats of legerdemain and by his dexterous conjuring deceives the eye For instance, one will carry an enormous stone on his back, or they will appear to cut a man into pieces and then restore him to his natural state

Their extraordinary performances are beyond description and each of them affects a special style of vocal accompaniment

[144] *The Akhārā*

is an entertainment held at night by the nobles of this country, some of whose (female) domestic servants are taught to sing and play Four pretty women lead off a dance, and some graceful movements are executed Four others are employed to sing, while four more accompany them with cymbals . two others play the *pakhāwaj*, two the *upang*, while the Dekhan *rabāb*, the *vinā* and the *yantra*, are each taken by one player Besides the usual lamps of the entertainment, two women holding lamps stand near the circle of performers Some employ more It is more common for a band of these *natwās* to be retained in service who teach the young slave-girls to perform Occasionally they instruct their own girls and take them to the nobles and profit largely by the commerce

His Majesty has a considerable knowledge of the principles explained in the *Sangita* and other works, and what serves as an occasion to induce a lethargic sleep in other mortals, becomes to him a source of exceeding vigilance

Gaja Sāstra

is the knowledge of elephants and all that concerns their various peculiarities, their care and health and the causes and symptoms of sickness and its remedies.

Salihotra,

or veterinary surgery, is the knowledge of all that appertains to the horse and its treatment

Vāstuka

is the science of architecture and its characteristics

Supa

treats of the arts of cookery and the properties of food

Rājanīti

is the science of state-craft As it behoves a monarch in the governance [P 145] of the interior spirit, to avoid the evil results of desire and anger (Sanskrit, *Kāma* and *Krodha*), similarly the administration of temporal affairs is guided by observance of the like conduct The principal occasions of unruliness of desires which cause the downfall of princes, are said to be ten —(1) The pursuit of game (2) Dicing (3) Sleep (4) Censoriousness (5) Intercourse with women (6) Singing songs [1] (7) Dancing (8) The society of musicians (9) Wine (10) Solitude

The chief sources of the calamities [*i e* , vices born] of anger are —(1) Confiscation of property (2) Ungraciousness in acknowledgment of benefits (3) Betraying a secret (4) Unmindfulness of the service of dependants (5) Abusive language (6) Unjust suspicion (7) Taking life without due deliberation, and the like (8) Publishing the faults of others

It is incumbent on monarchs to live free from the baneful consequences of desire and anger and not to sully their dignity

[1] I am not sure of this interpretation of *naqsh guftan* From the context the meaning I have given is the most appropriate, and Vüller admits this signification of *naqsh* in his lexicon

This section has been taken from Manu's *Institutes*, 7th canto verses 47 *et seq*, where we have as the 8th and 10th of the vices born of desire — playing on musical instruments and "sauntering or aimless wandering in the places of the two mentioned above by Jarrett The sixth in the Sanskrit original is really 'singing' [J Sarkar]

with these eighteen sources of crime If they are unable to avoid them altogether, they should never transgress due measure in their regard They say that a prince should be God-fearing, circumspect and just, compassionate and bountiful, recognising virtue and the distinctions of rank and merit He should be courteous in speech, kindly in aspect and condescending in his manner He should be ever ambitious of extending his dominions, and should protect his subjects from the exactions of revenue-officers, from thieves, robbers and other evil-doers He should proportion the punishment to the offence and be firm of purpose and yet clement His intelligencers should be appointed from among men of trust and sagacity He should never despise his enemy nor be remiss in vigilance nor be proud of his wealth and power He should not admit to his court venal and corrupt designers A king resembles a gardener and should carry out, in regard to his subjects, the course pursued in the care of his garden by the other, who puts away thorns and weeds and keeps his flower-beds in good order, allowing no depredations from without In the same way a prince should transfer to the frontier of his dominions the turbulence of the seditious, and free the courts of his palace from their machinations, and allow no other evil designers to enter them. The gardener, likewise, from time to time, prunes the redundancy of leaf and branch on his trees, so the king should isolate from each other the more powerful nobles whose friends and dependants are dangerously numerous The gardener also invigorates his weak saplings with water, and the king should similarly sustain with beneficence his impoverished soldiery

The king should choose a circumspect person of exemplary piety, courteous in disposition, vigilant, zealous, and masterful, reading the signs of the times and divining the intentions of his lord, and ready of speech, and in consultation with him, provide for the spiritual and temporal affairs of his kingdom. But if he finds himself physically unable to carry

on these duties, he should entrust their complicated direction to him. In important affairs he should not consult with many advisers, because the qualifications necessary in such cases are fidelity, breadth of view, fortitude of spirit, and perspicacity, and the union of these four priceless virtues in any one man is uncommonly rare. Although some statesmen of former times consulted with men of a different stamp with the intention of acting directly contrary to their advice, in the majority of cases this course did not answer and many disasters were the consequence, for this special reason, that it is difficult to efface from the mind the suspicions aroused by the insinuations of cowardly, unprincipled, short-sighted and base men. [146] Former princes adopted the practice of selecting from four to eight intelligent counsellors with the qualifications above-mentioned, under the presidency of one of their number. The opinion of each of these was separately taken on matters concerning the welfare of the State and the revenues, after which they were assembled in consultation and their several opinions carefully weighed without disclosing the author.

Further, a prince is in need of a faithful attendant, a profound astrologer, and a skilful physician. His wide experience will enable him to surround himself with friends, to maintain a well-appointed force, and to fill his treasury. He will portion out his dominions and entrust them to just and circumspect governors, and unite them in a befitting co-operation of government. He is jealous in the construction and provision of his fortresses and careful in their maintenance.

With his equals in power he is on terms of amity and concord and exacts tribute from the weak. He sows dissensions in the armies of one more powerful than himself by skilful intrigue, or failing this, he conciliates him with presents. As long as possible he avoids hostilities with all, but when war is inevitable, he enters upon it with fearlessness and vigour and upholds his honour. He should consider a prince whose territories are conterminous with his own, as his

enemy though he be profuse in demonstrations of friendship With one whose country is situated next beyond, he should form an alliance. With a third more remote, he should avoid all intercourse whether hostile or friendly

After the above manner have statesmen laid down rules of government, suggesting approved modes of conduct and enforcing them with numerous happy illustrations, all of which are referrible to the qualities of wisdom, recognition of merit, bravery, good temper, reserve in speech, zeal, and benevolence

VYAVAHARA
or
THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE[18]

The learned among the Hindus say that litigation in its various kinds falls under eighteen titles, for each of which there is a separate course of procedure, *viz* —(1) Non-payment of debt (2) Deposits (3) Sale without ownership (4) Disputes in partnership (5) Reclaiming a gift (6) Disputes between master and servant regarding wages, under which head are included labourers and such as work for hire (7) Default of revenue by the cultivator (8) Recision of purchase between buyer and seller (9) Mulcts on herdsmen (10) Boundary disputes (11) Slander (12) Assault (13) Theft (14) Violence with bloodshed (15) Adultery (16) Altercation between man and wife (17) Inheritance (18) Gambling disputes

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[18] For Hindu Law, Hastings *Ency* vii -850-853 iv 283 (crimes) Abul Fazl's authority seems to be the *Ordinances of Manu* of which the 8th chapter deals with Civil and Criminal law The eighteen titles are somewhat differently worded in Manu, and I give them for comparison Non-payment of debt, pledges, sale without ownership, partnership and non-delivery of what has been given, non-payment of wages, breach of contract, revocation of sale (and) purchase, disputes between master and servant, disputes about boundaries, assault (and) slander, theft, violence, adultery, the law between man and woman, partition, dicing, games with animals"

The king in his judicial character must erect his tribunal facing the east He must conduct the duties of his office in person, and if he cannot always himself attend to them, he must delegate his authority to a wise, fearless and painstaking deputy [P 147]

The plaintiff is termed *Vādin* and the defendant *Prati-vādin* A child under twelve years of age may not be summoned to court, nor one who is drunk, nor one crazy, nor one who is sick or engaged in the service of the State, nor a woman without relations, or of high family, or who has recently given birth to a child A discreet person should be commissioned to interrogate in such cases, or they should be brought into the royal presence

The plaintiff's statement is taken down in writing, with the date of the year, month, and day, and the names of the two parties and their ancestors for three descents, and many other particulars The reply of the defendant is then recorded and both their statements are carefully investigated The plaintiff is then asked for any documentary evidence and for his witnesses These should not be fewer than four, though some allow only three, and even one is considered sufficient if he be a person of known veracity

A child under five may not serve as a witness, nor a man broken down with age The evidence of a Sudra is only available for a Sudra, and that of a handicraftsman for one of his own trade The evidence of a blind man may not be taken, nor of one who is deaf, or diseased, or drunk, or crazy, nor a gambler, nor of a notorious evil-liver, nor of one oppressed by hunger and thirst, nor of an angry man, nor of a thief, nor of one who is being taken to execution For women, women should serve as witnesses A friend may not witness for a friend, nor an enemy against an enemy, nor partners for each other In all oral litigation, dryness of the lips, and biting them, and licking the sides of the mouth,

alteration of voice and change of colour, should be taken into consideration as collateral proof.

In all suits these conditions of evidence are imperative except under titles eleven to fourteen

If there be no documentary evidence or witnesses, the judge must decide to the best of his ability, with caution and prudence, but if he cannot discover the facts of the case, he must cause the plaintiff or, as some say, either of the two parties, as he thinks best, to undergo the ordeal [39] This is of eight kinds

The first kind The man is weighed and taken out of the scales, and after some prayers and incantations, he is again weighed If his scale rises, his claim is allowed, but an even balance or his scale preponderating, are proofs of its falsehood Some authorities say that the balance is never even This ordeal is only for Brāhmans

The second kind Seven or nine circles are drawn with a distance of sixteen fingers' breadth between each periphery The person is then bathed and religious ceremonies and incantations, as above described, are gone through His two hands are then rubbed over with rice-bran, and seven green leaves of the pipal-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) are placed upon them and bound round seven times with raw silk A piece of iron, weighing 3⅓ *sers* and heated red-hot, is then placed upon the leaves which, thus heated, he carries and advances taking one step between each circle, till, on arriving at the last, he throws the iron down If there is no sign of a burn, his word is accepted If the iron fall from his hands mid-way, he must begin again

The third kind The person is made to stand in water up to his naval and dips under with his face to the east Then,

[39] The word used in the text is *oath*, a translation of the Sanskrit *sapatha*, which means also ordeal It is an asseveration by imprecating curses on the head of the taker of the oath In this case, ordeal is evidently the true signification

from a bow measuring 106 fingers breadth, a reed arrow without an iron point, is shot off so that it shall fly with the wind and a fast runner is sent to fetch it If he can keep under water from the time the shaft is loosed till the runner returns with it, his cause is declared just This ordeal is especially for the Vaisya caste [P 148]

The fourth kind Seven barley corns of a deadly poison are administered in the spring season (*Vasanta*), or five in the heats (*Grishma*), or four in the rains (*Varshā*), six in the autumn (*Sarad*), and seven in the winter (*Haimanta*) These are to be mixed with thirty-three times the quantity of clarified butter and given to the man after certain incantations The face of the patient must be towards the south, and the person who administers must face the east or north If during a period in which the hands may be clapped 500 times, the poison does not take effect, his truth is proved Antidotes are then given to him to prevent any fatal effects This ordeal is peculiar to the Sudra caste

The fifth kind An idol is first washed, and after worship is paid to it, incantations are pronounced over the water it was washed with, and three mouthfuls of it are given to the person under ordeal If no misfortune happens to him within a fortnight, the justness of his cause is acknowledged

The sixth kind Rice of the class called *Sāthi*[40] is placed in an earthen vessel and kept all night Incantations are next morning pronounced over it, and the person is made to eat it while facing the east He is then required to spit upon a leaf of the pipal (*Ficus religiosa*), or the *bhojpatra* (*Betula bhojpatra*) If there should be any marks of blood, or the corners of the mouth swell, or symptoms of ague supervene, the untruth of his case is inferred

The seventh kind An earthen or stone vessel is taken, measuring sixteen fingers in length and breadth, and four

[40] Produced in the rains, and so called because it ripens in 60 days from the time of sowing

fingers deep Into this forty *dāms* weight of clarified butter or sesame-oil is poured and brought to boiling point, and one *māsha* of gold, which is equal to four *surkhs*, is thrown into the boiling-oil If the person can take out the gold with two fingers without being scalded, his cause is just

The eighth kind A symbol of *Dharma*, or Innocence, is fashioned of silver, and one of *Adharma*, or Guilt, of lead or iron, or the former word is written on a piece of a white cloth, or a leaf of the *bhoj* tree, and the latter on a piece of black cloth, and these are put into a jar which has never held water The person under ordeal is then told to draw out one of these If the symbol of innocence is drawn out, his cause is just This ordeal is applicable in determining the righteousness of all four castes

If a suit cannot be decided in one day, bail is taken, and a second suit may not be brought against the same person till the first is disposed of When a claim is proved, the plaintiff is put in possession, and a fine of an amount equal to the value of the suit is exacted of the defendant If the plaintiff loses his cause, he pays double the value of the suit

Having cursorily explained the procedure regarding suits, evidence and ordeal, I now as briefly record the mode of adjudication under the eighteen titles of law-suits

1 *Non-payment of debt* If the debt be without deposit and the dispute be regarding the amount of interest, a Brāhman shall pay two per cent (per mensem), a Kshatriya three, a Vaisya four, and a Sudra five per cent If there be security, only one-fourth of the above amounts are recoverable though a higher rate may have been agreed to For risks by land-travel, up to ten per cent is allowed, and not exceeding twenty-five per cent for risks at sea If interest has been agreed upon, and ten times the length of the stipulated period has elapsed, a claim shall not be allowed for [149] more

than double the principal [41] When the interest is paid on corn, the sum of the interest and principal should not be more than five times the principal If the debtor is unable to pay, he must renew the obligation bringing the instrument[42] and witnesses for its verification

2 *Deposits* If the receiver of a deposit make use of it without the owner's permission and delay its restoration when claimed, he shall forego half the interest due (in compensation) If he deny the deposit and there be no documentary evidence or witnesses, the judge may privately direct a third person to make a deposit with the same man and after some time to demand it back If he acts as before, he shall be compelled to satisfy the first claim, or submit to trial by ordeal, but if the pledge be stolen by a thief, or if it be burnt, or washed away by water, or plundered by an enemy, restitution shall not be made If he has dealt fraudulently with it, he shall make restitution and pay a similar amount as a fine

3 *Sale without ownership* If a man claim possession of property, it shall be restored to him free on proof of ownership, and the money taken back from the seller And if it be sold privately or under its value, or by a person not entitled to do so, the judge shall fine the offender as he thinks proper And if he brings forward the thief,[43] it shall not be imputed

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[41] That is, the sum of interest *plus* principal must not exceed twice the original debt According to Manu, five times the principal is payable on corn, fruit, wool and draught animals

[42] It is worth while noticing that the Sanskrit for this term *karanam* is translated by Hopkins proof, while stating in a note that the meaning 'document' given by commentators is not necessary and seems improbable Yet this is exactly the translation of Abul Fazl the word '*Sanad*' employed by him signifying document or instrument

[43] Or 'if he appear a thief ' The elliptical language of the text can be understood only by comparison with the text of Manu verses 197-198 run as follows —(197) 'If a man not being himself the owner sells the property of another without the owner's permission, one should not allow him to be a witness (since he is) a thief (although) he may not think he is a thief

as the crime of a thief, but a fine shall be exacted from him as a thief.

4 *Partnership* If there be a dispute between partners and any formal deed of partnership exist and be proved, it shall be carried out in accordance with its terms, otherwise the profit and loss shall be divided according to the proportions of capital invested If one of the partners dissipate the joint property or, without the consent of the other, remove it or otherwise fraudulently deal with it, he shall make it good to the other by a fine Or if on the other hand, he make a profit, he shall not be required to give more than one-tenth to his partner If one of them is guilty of fraud, he shall be ejected from partnership and the interest due to him shall be exacted by the judge If one of the partners be left in charge of the joint property and any deficiency or injury occurs through his neglect, he shall make it good

5 *Reclaiming a gift* If a gift is made under the influence of anger, sickness, grief, fear, or as a bribe, or in jest, it may be recalled also what has been given by a child, or a drunken or crazy man In other cases it may not be reclaimed And if the gift be made for a future benefit or in exchange, it may not, under any pretence, be resumed

6 *Wages, Hire, Rent* If wages, hire, or rent be received in advance, the agreement may not be violated If it be broken, the offender shall be fined to the amount of double the sum, but if the money has not been actually paid, the fine shall extend only to the amount originally fixed If a servant loses his master's property, he must make good the equivalent, but if it be taken from him by violence, he is not liable to restitution

7 *Revenue.* If any one fail to pay the usual revenue,

(198) He should be held to a fine of 600 *panas* if he is a near relation if he is not a near relation and has no excuse, he would incur the fine of a thief

the whole of his effects shall be confiscated, and he shall be expelled the country

8 *Purchase and sale* A purchaser may on the day of purchase return the goods bought; on the second day he may return them on a forfeit of a twentieth of their cost on the third day, of a tenth, after which they cannot be sent back But a maid-servant may be sent back within one month, a slave, within fifteen days, corn, within ten days, jewels, within seven days, cattle in general, within five days, a milch-cow, within three days, iron, within one day, unless there be any stipulation to the contrary The same conditions hold good with the seller, but he must sustain the loss in the same proportion as the excess payments of the purchaser in the opposite case

[150] 9 *Herdsmen* If through the neglect of a herdsman a beast is lost or dies or is injured, he must make good the loss If cattle eat a grain-crop near a village or city, the herdsman is not amenable to fine Sown-fields should be distant from a small village four hundred cubits, from one of moderate size, eight hundred, and from a large settlement, sixteen hundred cubits [44] If the trespass should occur through the neglect of the keeper, he must pay the value of the crop destroyed, otherwise the owner of the cattle is responsible For a buffalo, a camel or donkey the fine is seven *māshas* of silver for an ox, half the above for a sheep or goat, half the fine for an ox If the beast lies down to eat, the fine is doubled An elephant, a horse, as well as cattle set at liberty as an act of piety, (it being the custom, eleven days after the death of a Brahman, thirteen days after the death

[44] Round about every village there should be a strip of land one hundred bows or even three casts of a staff in width around a city, it should be three times as wide Manu VIII, 237 This land is intended for a common and not to be tilled The staff is picked up after the first cast and again as it falls, and so on three times The strength of the cast might fitly be that of Polypœtes *Iliad*, XXIII, 845

of a Kshatriya, sixteen after that of a Vaisya, and thirty after the death of a Sudra, to let loose eight or four bulls, or one bull with a number of cows after branding them in a special manner) or a cow that has lately calved, or animals that have strayed, or not amenable to fine if they damage the crops The same rule applies to royal preserves as to crops

10 *Boundaries* Disputes regarding boundaries may be adjudicated at any season save during the rains [45] The owners of land define their boundaries by burying charcoal, stones, potsherds, hair, bones, and the like that do not perish even after a long time, and sometimes a tree is made the boundary The judge determines the dispute on the production of such evidence, and the witness of four, eight, or ten husbandmen, keepers,[46] or hunters

The witnesses shall wear red garments, place earth upon their heads and wear a string of red flowers round their necks, and shall swear that their good deeds may lose all merit if they lie If there be no witnesses nor boundary mark, the judgment of the king shall determine the line

11 *Slander* This is of three kinds, *viz* —(1) Reviling another to his face (2) By insinuation and suggestion (3) Reviling his mother, sister, or such other improper language For the first two, if the abuse be from one of inferior towards one of a superior caste the fine is twelve-and-a-half *dāms*, to an equal, half that sum, towards an inferior, one-fourth For the third kind, the fine is twenty-five *dāms*, if between equals, or if a Brāhman reviles a Kshatriya, but fifty,

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[45] If a dispute has arisen between two villages in regard to a boundary, the king should determine the boundary in the month of *Jyaistha* (middle of May to middle of June) as the boundary marks are then very plain Manu, viii 245

[46] The men named by Manu are hunters, bird-catchers, cowherds, fishermen, root-diggers, snake-catchers, gleaners, and other men who wander about the woods The text has *sipāhān* (which Jarrett trans as keepers), a misprint for *pasbanān* or watchmen [J S]

if the abuse is from a Kshatriya to a Brāhman If a Vaisya reviles a Brāhman he is fined seventy-five *dāms*, but in the opposite case the fine is twelve-and-a-half. If a Sudra thus offends against a Brāhman, he is fined one hundred *dāms*, a Brāhman reviling a Sudra pays six-and-a-quarter A Vaisya reviling a Kshatriya pays fifty, and the fine in the opposite case is twelve-and-a-half, and the same proportion between a Vaisya and a Sudra If one of the gods be reviled, or the king, or a Brāhman who has read the four Vedas, the fine is 540 *dāms* If the abuse be directed against the people of a quarter, half of the above, and one-fourth if against the inhabitants of the city

12 *Assault* This is of four kinds (1) Throwing earth, clay or filth upon any one (2) Putting him in bodily fear by threatening him with the fist, a stick, or other weapon (3) Striking with the hands or feet and the like (4) Wounding with any weapon

The first kind In the first case, the fine is five *dāms*, but if filth is thrown, ten, provided the parties are equals, but twice as much if it be an inferior against a superior, and only half in the opposite cases

The second kind Threatening with the hand, etc, five *dāms*, and (with stick or other weapon) between equals, eleven, between superiors and inferiors, as above

[151] *The third kind* If the blow cause a swelling or pain in the limb, 270 *dāms* If by an inferior against a superior, the hand or foot, or other offending member be cut off, or a suitable fine inflicted In the instance of a Kshatriya against a Brāhman, the fine is 540 *dāms*, a Vaisya against a Brāhman, 1,080, a Sudra against a Brāhman, 2,160, a Vaisya against a Kshatriya or a Sudra against a Vaisya 540, a Sudra against a Kshatriya, 1,080, a Brāhman against a Kshatriya, 135; or against a Vaisya, 67½, or against a Sudra, 33¾, a Kshatriya against a Vaisya, 135, against a Sudra 67½

The fourth kind Between those of like caste if the skin be abraded, fifty *dāms*, and if the flesh is cut, twenty *tolahs* of gold, and if a bone be broken, the offender is banished If an inferior against a higher caste, the fine is doubled, and in the opposite case, it shall be a-half If treatment is necessary, the offender shall pay the expenses of medicine and daily 'keep' till the injured man be restored to health

In the case of a sheep, antelope[47] and the like, if there be hurt, the fine is eight *dāms*, if it be rendered useless, the value must be paid to the owner, with a fine of 125 *dāms*, and twice as much, if it be killed For a horse, camel, or ox, the fine is also double When damage is done to valuable plants, the value must be paid to the owner and a fine of ten *dāms*, but eight *dāms* if they be of small value

13 *Theft* If any one steal above one hundred *tolahs* of gold or silver or any valuables up to this amount, or more than 66⅔ *mans* of corn, or the child or the wife of any person of distinction, he shall be liable to the punishment of death If the amount be less than one hundred and more than fifty *tolahs*, he shall suffer the loss of his hand If fifty or less, he shall pay eleven times the amount as a fine The same applies to corn In all cases the equivalent of the amount stolen shall be made good to the owner, and if the thief is unable to pay, he shall work out the amount in menial service In other cases of theft, corporal punishment, imprisonment or fine, is at the discretion of the judge

14 *Violence with bloodshed* If a man of inferior caste kill a man of a higher caste, the penalty is death If a Brāhman slay a Brāhman, his entire estate shall be confiscated, his head shaved, his forehead branded and he shall be banished from the kingdom If a Brāhman slay a Kshatriya, he shall pay a fine of 1,000 cows and a bull, if he slay a Vaisya, 100 cows

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[47] Different sorts of antelopes and deer, flamingoes and parrots, are "propitious" forest animals, and a fine imposed for killing them also the small animals such as crows, cats, etc

and a bull, or if a Sudra, 10 cows and a bull The same rule applies to Kshatriyas and Vaisyas If a Sudra slay a Sudra, he shall be fined 500 cows and a bull If the murderer be not found, the people of the city, village, or quarter in which the murder was committed shall produce some of his family or pay in default any fine that the king may inflict

15 *Adultery* Commerce between a woman and a man other than her husband, is of three kinds (1) When they converse and jest together in private (2) When a present is sent to the house of the other (3) When they meet and criminal intercourse ensues In the second case, a fine may be inflicted at the discretion of the king The third is of two kinds, *viz* , with a maiden and one who is not a maiden The former may be dishonoured The latter may be women who are guarded, or such as gad abroad [48] In each of these four cases it may occur with the woman's consent or otherwise, and of these eight, the criminality may take place between two of a like caste In the latter instance if it be a girl and she consent in all these offences, and no force is offered on one side or resistance on the other, the man shall be compelled to marry her whether he will or no In the case of pollution and the like, he must pay a fine of 200 *dāms* If he violate her without her consent, he shall be put to death, but the woman is not liable to punishment If he forcibly pollute her, he must suffer the loss of his fingers, and pay a fine of 600 *dāms* If the offender be a Brāhman, he shall be banished, but no other penalty is exacted If the man be of higher caste, he shall be made to take her in marriage, even if he be unwilling, in which case an additional fine is imposed If she be not a maiden, and both be of like caste, and she be guarded,[49] and give her consent, the man is fined 270 dāms, but if without

[48] Hopkins translates 'wandering women' (*Manu* VIII 363) and supposes them to be possibly Buddhistic nuns Sir W Jones interprets 'female anchorets of an heretical religion' Abul Fazl's rendering is *kucha gard*, gadding about the streets'

[49] Under the protection of her husband or other male relative

her consent, the fine shall be 540 *dāms* If she be one used to gad abroad and consents, the fine is 250 *dāms*, if forced, 500 If the man be of higher caste, the fine in all cases shall be 250 *dāms*; if of inferior caste, death is the penalty in every instance, and the ears and nose of the woman shall be cut off

16 *Altercation between man and wife* If after marriage a man discovers any natural defect in his wife, he may put her away without remedy on her part, but the woman's father shall be fined If a man offer one daughter in marriage and substitute another in her place, he shall be compelled to give both When a man has journeyed on a pilgrimage to holy shrines and is absent beyond the term agreed upon, the wife shall wait at home for eight years whatever her position in life may be [50] If he has gone abroad for the sake of knowledge or fame or wealth, she shall wait six years if he journeys to seek another wife, three years At the expiration of these periods, she is at liberty to leave her husband's house to obtain a livelihood The husband on his return from abroad, if he wishes to put her away on account of her departure, is not permitted to do so If the wife does not observe the condition of these periods, the husband is at liberty to put her away If the husband fall sick and the wife does not minister to him, he may not, on his recovery, for this cause divorce her, but he may refuse intercourse with her for three months and deprive her of all that she possesses, after which period he shall be reconciled to her With Brāhmans, divorce does not take place but a husband may avoid the sight and presence of his wife her maintenance must nevertheless be continued The wife may not take another husband If he be guilty of great crimes or have any contagious disease, the wife is at liberty to separate from him If a Brāhman have a wife of

[50] One commentator's opinion is, that, after the eight years she must follow him Another states that she may marry another husband The former opinion, says Hopkins, rests on a later view of second marriages

each of the four castes, he shall assign them their respective social functions In religious ceremonies, and personal attendance such as anointing with oil and adorning[51] him and similar duties, he must employ only his own caste

17 *Inheritance* While a son lives, no other relation or kinsman shares the estate except the wife who is equal to the son If there be neither son nor wife, the unmarried daughter inherits If there be also no daughter, the mother is the heir [P 153]

If there be no mother, the father takes possession

If there be no father alive, his brother shall be heir

In default of a brother, the brother's son inherits

In default of a brother's son, the estate is divided amongst the surviving kindred

If he leave no relations, the teacher inherits, or in default of the teacher, his fellow pupils

In the absence of all these the estate lapses to the Crown

18 *Gambling* Whosoever plays with false dice shall be banished If he refuse to pay his stake, it shall be taken from him, and of his winnings, the king shall receive one-tenth, and one-twentieth shall be taken for dues [52]

To each of these eighteen titles there are many illustrations, and conflicting opinions are recorded I content myself with this short exposition.

[51] The duties of a Brahman's wife are to give food to beggar guests, and attend to her part of the sacrificial preparations She bathes and adorns her husband cleans his teeth and anoints him, and since she holds the highest rank she gives him his food, drink wreaths, clothes and ornaments

[52] I presume the reading is questionable It probably refers to a licence for the tables or permission to play For Hindu gambling rules, Hastings, Ency iv 284

CHAPTER VIII

THE FOUR PERIODS OF RELIGIOUS LIFE

Having reviewed the various branches of learning in their scientific aspects, I proceed to some account of their practical modes of life

Among the Brāhmans, the period of individual life, after the intelligence is to some degree matured, is divided into four portions, to each of which is assigned its special important duties These periods severally receive the name of *Asrama*

THE FIRST PERIOD is the *Brahma-charya*, or religious studentship Investiture with the sacred thread is regarded by the Brāhmans as the first principle of their creed, and the three superior castes do not acknowledge the right of due membership without it With a Brāhman it must be made in the eighth year, or if this auspicious time is suffered to elapse, it may be performed up to sixteen years of age A Kshatriya may be invested between eleven and twenty-two years of age, and a Vaisya from twelve to twenty-four, but a Sudra is not considered a fitting recipient It is imperative that the investiture should take place for each caste within the prescribed periods from which date the initiation is reckoned, otherwise there is exclusion from caste The Brāhman receives the sacred string from his father or teacher, and the two other castes from a Brāhman None but a Brāhman may twist the string, and that which he wears for the first time must be twisted by his father or teacher or by himself The teacher's son has also the same privilege Three strands, in length ninety-six times the circumference of the fist, are united and twisted, making a twist of nine strands This is again folded into three without twisting and secured

[1] For Asramas Hastings *Encyclo* ii 128-131 (by Deussen) and details about the duties in each stage of life Wilson's *Vishnu Purāna*, Ch ix—xii and *Manu Samhita*

by a knot at each end. This is the sacred thread. It is placed on the left shoulder and carried across the body to the right side, and thus the length is from the shoulder to the thumb of the right side, and thus the length is from the shoulder to the thumb of the right hand. It is worn diagonally like a belt. A Brāhman wears five together, the other two castes, but three. Some authorities say that a cotton thread is for the special use of the Brāhman, woollen for the Kshatriya and hempen thread for the Vaisya. Similarly, a thong of deer-skin, three fingers in breadth, is worn with it but not of the same length. A Brāhman [154] uses the skin of the black antelope, a Kshatriya the skin of any other kind of deer, and a Vaisya of a goat. At this period they also wear round the waist a girdle of a particular kind of grass called in Sanskrit *Munja* (*Saccharum Munja*).

He next learns the *gāyatri*,[2] which are certain words in praise of the sun, résembling the *kalimah* or profession of faith in Islām. He also receives a staff of *palāsa* wood (*Butea frondosa*), but for the other two castes it is made of some other wood.

He leaves his father's house and chooses a lodging near his teacher, learns his letters and begins reading the Vedas. He first reads that Veda which it is his special duty to learn, and then the remaining three. They relate that when the sage *Vyāsa* divided the Vedas into four parts, he instructed one of his pupils in each, from which time the descendants and the pupils of these respectively read their own Veda first. The Vedas are never read during the first degree of the moon's

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[2] The *Gayatri* verse is taken from the *Rig Veda* III. 62, and is repeated by every Brāhman at his morning and evening devotions. From being addressed to the sun (*Savita*) as generator, it is also called Sāvitri. The verse runs:

तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥१०॥

"Of the god-like sun this surpassing radiance we contemplate which excites to action our intelligence."

course (*pariwā*), nor during the eighth, fourteenth, fifteenth, or thirtieth, nor on the night of the fourth, eighth, or fourteenth, nor during an eclipse of the sun, but any of the other acts may be performed at those times

When a Brāhman goes to relieve the necessities of nature, he hangs the sacred thread upon his right ear, and on such an occasion by day, turns his face to the north and by night to the south He washes himself five times, each time first mixing the water with earth, and then washes the left hand ten times in the same manner, and next both hands seven times, and lastly both his feet in the same way After he urines, he washes the part as above described and the left hand three times and each hand and foot once From the day of his investiture till sixteen years of age, this number of purifications must be observed and doubled after he exceeds that age Next, in a chosen spot, he should sit down on his haunches facing the east or north, keeping his knees erect and with his hand between them should drink three fills of his palm A Brahman should swallow as much water as will reach his chest a Kshatriya as much as will suffice to reach his throat, a Vaisya, as far as the root of his tongue A Sudra may drink but once He then uses a tooth stick (*miswāk*) twelve fingers breadth in length, taking a fresh one every day

He may not wear more than four coverings for his person These are (1) *Langoti*, or waist-cloth, which is worn to cover only two parts of his body (2) A small *lung*[3] worn above the other (3) A sheet without suture, over his shoulders (4) A small cap for his head He should bathe before sunrise, wearing only the sacred thread, the girdle of *munja*, and the *langoti* He first takes up a little water in his right hand, saying "I pray that any fault I have committed may be put

[3] This is a cloth worn round the loins and passed between the legs and tucked in behind It differs from the *langoti* in reaching to the knees

away from me" After which he throws the water away With this intention his ablutions are entered upon Then he rubs himself all over with earth, and if he be in a river, he dips three times, otherwise, he pours water over himself thrice and rubs his body all over with his hands He then pronounces the name of God, and taking water three times in [P 155] the hollow of his hand sips a little and begins to repeat certain prayers, at the conclusion of which he continues sprinkling water upon his head He next closes his nostrils with two fingers and dashing water over his face, repeats other prayers and dips or throws water over himself thrice Then wetting both his hands, he sprinkles his forehead, chest and both shoulders seven times, and taking up water with joined hands, casts it towards the sun eight times, repeating special prayers, and sips some water thrice He next performs the *prānāyāma* as described in the section on the Pātanjala system The ablutions are meritorious in degree according to their performance in the following order—in a river, a tank, a well, or a house He then clothes himself If he be a follower of *Rāma*, he marks his forehead horizontally with ashes, if of Krishna, he draws the sectarial mark in twelve places, *viz*, on his forehead, his breast, his navel, the right and left sides thereof, his right and left shoulders, the two lobes of his ears, his loins, the crown of his head and the throat The clay of the Ganges is considered the most efficacious for this purpose but saffron and the like are also used A Sudra marks his forehead with only a circle After this he takes his staff and slings across his shoulders the deer-skin and occupies himself with the *Sandhya*, which consists of certain religious exercises, sprinkling and sipping water, and the like [4] Next comes the lighting of the fire and certain burnt offerings are made which is called the *Homa* sacrifice

[4] These rites are performed at morning mid-day, and evening

When these ceremonies are concluded, he goes to his teacher and gains merit by waiting upon him and reading the Vedas At midday, the ablution and the ceremonies aforesaid are repeated with some variation and some increase in their number When these are over he sets out begging alms and solicits from three, five, or seven houses, but avoids a Sudra After cooking a sufficient meal he carries it to his teacher and with his permission, eats it He precedes his meal with prayers and a few ceremonies and eats in silence and then repeats other prayers When it is near dusk, he again performs the *Sandhyā* and *Homa* rites and occupies himself with reading After a watch of the night has elapsed, he sleeps upon the ground, making his couch of straw or a tiger's skin or deer-skin or the like He should avoid honey, betel-leaf, and perfumes He should shave his head, keeping a tuft only, but the hair of the other parts of the body should be suffered to grow. He should not use collyrium nor anoint himself with oil, and should abstain from singing, dancing and gaming He should not kill any animal nor have any commerce with women nor eat of anything not tasted first by his teacher He should abstain from falsehood, anger, avarice and envy, and not defile his tongue by speaking ill of any one though he deserve it, and make his days meritorious by practices of piety In prayer he should turn to the east or north and he should not look towards the sun in its rising or setting Some pass forty-eight years in the *Brahmacharya* stage, allowing twelve years for the study of each Veda Some take only five years, and others till the Vedas are learnt Others again spend their lives in this manner and undergo austerities in the hope of final liberation

[156] *The Second Period* is the *Gārhasthya*, or a state in which the duties of a householder are observed and the person so engaged is called *Grihastha* When the *Brahma-chārin* has completed his studies, if he feels called to the religious life and his heart is estranged from the world, nothing

can more conduce to his welfare than the endeavour to attain eternal bliss, but if he has no such vocation, he should seek the consent of his teacher and, having obtained permission, return to his father's house He then puts away all but his sacred thread, but continues the oblations and some other ceremonies, the number of the oblations being the same as during his period of pupilage as *Brahmachārin* If he be a Brāhman, he wears a turban, and a sheet eight cubits in length and two in breadth is put on in the fashion of a loin-cloth, one end being passed between his legs and fastened behind to the waist-piece, and the other end brought forward and tied similarly in front Another sheet, five cubits long and two broad, is worn over the shoulders, and this may have a suture A householder of other castes wears different garments He now marries in the manner that shall be presently described

The householder repeats certain prayers and thus performs the *Homa* sacrifice He takes in his hand a stick of *pipal* or *palās* wood, a span in length and burns it in the *Homa* fire Another stick of the same kind is taken and passed into the fire and reserved, and when the next *Homa* takes place, this stick is burnt and another like the first is scorched and reserved, and this is continued till the time of the *Agni-hotra* [5] This is a special kind of *Homa* or oblation A *pipal* stick is set alight by means of two other sticks and a cord forcibly worked by the hand, and the fire is placed in three round earthen vessels The figure of a tortoise is then made of a *ser* and-a-quarter of rice-flour, and the three portions are cooked in one lump and dressed with oil, and part of this is thrown into the three fires as an oblation to the deities, and the remainder is given to Brāhmans One of the three portions of the sacrificial fire is reserved, and throughout his whole life,

This is a Vedic oblation to *Agni*, chiefly of milk, oil and sour gruel there are two kinds *nitya*, or of constant obligation, and *kamyā*, or optional

the daily *Homa* oblation is made with that fire, the oblations cast into the fire in the name of the deities consist of any barley, rice, clarified butter, milk, wheat, that may be available, and once every fifteen days in the first degree of the moon's course he carries out the ceremony as before. The ceremony of the *Agni-hotra* may not take place till the period has elapsed between the fourth day after his marriage and that on which the bride leaves her father's house (to join her husband).[6] With the exception of the Sudra and the *Mlechchha*, the rest of the people come generally under this second denomination. Four *gharis* before day-break, the householder awakes and passes some little time on his bed in prayer. He divides his day into eight portions, thus profitably employing his time.

First, when the rays of the sun appear, he refreshes his sight with its lustre, and next by looking upon fire, water, gold, a just prince, a Brāhman, a cow, and clarified butter. If none of these eight be present, he must look upon the palms of his hands, and proceed to wash his mouth and perform the *Sandhyā* ceremonies. The *second* portion of his time he must employ in study and occupy himself in the interpretation of the Vedas [P. 157] and other branches of knowledge. The *third* he spends in attendance on his prince, and engages in state affairs. The *fourth* is occupied with his own household. The *fifth*, which is about the entry of noon, he spends in ablutions and the *Sandhyā* ceremonies, and taking up water in both hands, offers it to the deities, the great *Rishis* and (the manes of) his ancestors, and repeats certain prayers. This libation is called *tarpana*. During the *sixth*, he prays to Vishnu, Mahādeva, the Sun, Durga, and Ganesa. This is called *Deva-pujā*, or worship of the gods, as will be more fully described hereafter. In the *seventh*,

[6] This is the true interpretation of the sentence, as I learn from a Brāhman pandit. Abul Fazl's language is terse to obscurity without a knowledge of the subjects he treats of. The Agni-hotra ceremony cannot be performed till after marriage, and the presence of the wife is a necessary part of it.

he casts into the fire some of his food as an offering to the gods, and makes the *Homa* sacrifice Next follows the *Atithi-pujā* (or the religious reception of a guest) He waits expectantly for any hungry person, and when he meets him, treats him with respect and satisfies his need, after which he himself eats, and this act is called the *Vaisvadeva-pujā* (or offering to *all deities*) A Brāhman obtains his food in the following way When the husbandman has reaped his field and the poor have gleaned their fill, the Brāhman then follows in quest, and takes what he can find, and if he does not feel content with this, he may receive from his own people, and if this is insufficient, he may accept whatever is given to him without solicitation by another Brāhman, a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya If this is not his choice, he may beg, and if he will not submit to this, he may cultivate land Trade is considered more objectionable A Brāhman should not keep more than twelve days' supply of food, but to others an abundance is permitted, as has been explained In the *eighth*, he listens to the recital of the lives of former holy men and performs the ceremonies of the *Homa* and *Sandhyā* If he is hungry, he takes his meal He then occupies himself till the first watch of the night, in studying works of philosophy and reading the lives of ancient sages, after which he goes to rest Such are the means by which he profitably employs his day and night. Other ceremonies performed during times of eclipse and festivals, are numerous Those practised by the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas who follow their special occupations, are fewer as shall be presently described

The third period is that of the *Vānaprastha* or anchorite, a name given also to the person so engaged This is forbidden to a Sudra.

When one (of the other castes) arrives at old age, or has a grandson, he may wisely give up the management of his household to his son or to a relation, abandon worldly concerns, and leaving the city, retire into the desert He

may there build himself a hermitage, and putting away the outward pleasures of sense, practise mortification of his body in preparation for his last journey If his wife, through affection, desire to accompany him, he may suffer it and not deny her, but he must resist all carnal inclinations. Here he preserves the sacred fire of his daily sacrifice and clothes himself with the leaves of trees or with skins, and he may wear [158] a coarse loin-cloth He should never cut his hair or his nails and morning, noon, and evening he should perform the prescribed ablutions and the *Sandhyā* Like the *Gṛhastha*, he should perform the *Homa* sacrifice morning and evening, but his ablutions are three times more numerous, in as much as he performs them ten times to the other's three He must always keep his head bowed down and follow the instructions given in the Pātanjala system and carefully control the emotions of the spirit He should employ his time in reading the Vedas, sleep only at night, and lie on the bare ground During the four months of the hot season he sits between five fires, lighting four about him, and having the sun burning over head During the four months of the rains he should live upon a stage sustained by four poles, so that he may not be in danger from a flood nor injure minute animals by his movements, nor must he protect himself from the weather During the four months of the cold season, he should pass the night sitting in cold water He should always observe the *Chāndrayana* fast and eat only at night He is permitted to keep a store of food sufficient for a year and should accept nothing from others, living on grain and gathering wild fruits that have fallen He eats nothing that is cooked, but he may moisten his food If he can obtain naught else, he may beg of other anchorites, and failing them, he may go into the town to seek the necessaries of life but he must not remain there

If he is unable to live in this manner, he abandons all sustenance and journeys onwards to the east or north till his

bodily powers are exhausted, or he throws himself into fire or water in self-destruction, or casts himself down from a precipice and thus ends his life They consider that heaven is the reward of this course and final liberation is dependent on the profession of asceticism What is understood by some as *mukti*, or final liberation, is, that in a former birth, this stage of abandonment of the world had been attained.

The fourth period is *Sannyāsa*, which is an extraordinary state of austerity that nothing can surpass, and which when duly carried out is rewarded by final liberation Such a person His Majesty calls *Sannyāsi*.[7]

After the completion of the third stage, and the habit of self-denial in all sensual pleasures is acquired, the disciple first obtains the permission of his teacher and then quits his wife, shaves his head, beard, and the hair of his face and abandons all worldly concerns His teacher presents him with a loin-cloth and some covering and accepts a trifle in return He does not occupy himself with reading, but applies himself entirely to spiritual contemplation He passes his life alone in the wilds, performs his ablutions morning, noon, and evening, and is scrupulous in self-purification and practises the duties described in the Patanjala system, carrying them out after his own method He performs the *Sandhyā* and then repeats from one to twelve thousand times the word *Om*, which is the beginning of the Vedas At the fourth *ghari* before the close of day, he goes into the city, and repeats the name of God, begging at three, five, or seven houses of Brāhmans, but does not take more than a handful of food {159} from each If they put it into his hand he straightway eats it, or if they throw it on the ground, he takes it up with his mouth or gathers it in a cloth and eats it after cleansing it in a stream He then retires to a place where there is no sign of the cooking of food or lighting of a fire

[7] The term *Sannyāsin* was applied many centuries before his Majesty was born

He avoids a Sudra or a Mlechchha and if he is not quickly supplied with food, he does not wait After eating he directs his eyes to the tip of his nose or to his brow and passes a brief space in meditation He walks with his head and feet bare and does not remain in any one place If he is compelled to pass through a city or village, he does not remain in the former more than three days nor in the latter more than one In the rains he abides in one spot and thus is his life passed Some adopt the course of religious abandonment both during the first and second periods

Some say that the first period extends to twenty-five years, and the same is allowed for the three other periods The second is lawful to all the four castes, the first and third to all but Sudras, but the fourth is exclusively for Brāhmans.

WORSHIP OF THE DEITY

The Hindu sages declare that whoever seeks to do the will of God, must devote certain works exclusively to purposes of worship and the first six of the nine schools already alluded to, comprise this under four heads

The *First* is—

ISVARA-PUJA,

or

Divine Worship

Since according to their belief, the Supreme Deity can assume an elemental form without defiling the skirt of the robe of omnipotence, they first make various idols of gold and other substances to represent this ideal and gradually withdrawing the mind from this material worship, they become meditatively absorbed in the ocean of His mysterious Being Sixteen ceremonies conduce to this end After the performance of the *Homa* and *Sandhyā* obligations, the devotee sits

down facing the east or north, and taking up a little rice and water sprinkles (the idol) with the intention of beginning the worship of God Then follows the *Kalasa-pujā* or pitcher-worship The water of the pitcher which is required for the ceremony is venerated after a special manner [a] He next performs the *Sankha--pujā*, wherein the white shell is venerated which is filled with water to be poured over the idol Next follows the *Ghantā-pujā*, in which the gong is plastered with sandalwood unguent and worshipped When these are concluded, he sprinkles a little rice with the intention of soliciting the manifestation of the deity Such is the first of the sixteen ceremonies (2) The intention is made that the prayer of the supplicant may be accepted A throne of metal or other [P 160] substance is placed as a seat for the deity (3) He pours water into a vessel that he may wash his feet when he comes, it being the custom of the country to wash the feet of superiors when they enter a house (4) He throws down water thrice on the ground to represent the rinsing of the mouth by that mystical being, as it is also a custom of this country among the more refined classes to offer this service to a superior before meal-time (5) Sandal, flowers, betel, and rice are thrown into water and thus offered (6) The idol is lifted up with its seat and carried to another place With the right hand a white conch-shell is held while with the left a gong is struck and the water is poured over the idol which is then washed (7) The idol is then dried with a cloth and placed upon its throne and it is dressed in such costly robes as circumstances can furnish (8) It is then invested with the sacred string (9) The sectarial mark is next made in twelve places with sandal (10) Flowers or leaves are then strewn over it (11) It is fumigated with perfumes (12) A lamp is lit with clarified butter (13) Food according to ability is then

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[a] A twig of each of the following sacred trees *Ficus religiosa, Ficus indica, Ficus glomerata, Mimosa albida* and the *Mangifera Indica* are placed in the pitcher of water as an oblation

placed on a table before the idol, which is then distributed to people as the idol's leavings (14) Is the *Namas-kara* which is a posture of supplication. He repeats the praises of God with heart and tongue and falls prostrate with his whole body like a staff This prostration is called *danda-vat* (staff-like), he so prostrates himself that eight of his limbs touch the earth,—the two knees, the two hands, the forehead, the nose, and the right and left cheeks This is called *Sāshtāngā*, (eight members) Many perform one of these two obeisances in supplication before the great (15) Circumambulating the idol several times (16) Standing like a slave before it, and taking leave

In each of these ceremonies, prayers are repeated and particular acts are performed Some consider only five of these ceremonies from the 7th to the 13th, as imperative, others practice more, except a Sudra and a *Sannyāsin*, all others perform this worship thrice daily

Worship is of six kinds (1) In the heart (2) Making the sun a means of divine adoration (3) Causing fire to serve the purpose of spiritual recollection (4) Worshipping in presence of water (5) Cleaning a spot of ground as a place for worship (6) Making an idol a representative object of prayer They also make images of those who have attained to God and account their veneration as a means of salvation

The *Second kind* is—

YAJNA,[9]
or
Sacrifice

By this the favour of the deities is obtained and it becomes the means [P 161] of securing the blessing of God The

[9] For the Hindu *yajna*, Hastings *Encyclop* ii 800-801, xii 611-618, iv 770-771, v 13-16, and ii 160 *Jāg* is the popular Hindi form of the Sanskrit *yajna*

term *Jāg* is also used. *Pāka-yajna* (simple or domestic sacrifice) is making the *Homa* in the name of the deities and bestowing charity before taking food. This is variously performed. *Japa-yajna* is the *muttering* of incantations and the names of God. These two, like the first, are of daily practice. *Vidhi-yajna* or *ceremonial* act of worship is of numerous kinds, in each of which important conditions are prescribed, large sums of money expended and many animals sacrificed. One of these is the *Asvamedha*, or *horse-sacrifice*, which is performed by sovereign princes. When its necessary preparations are completed, a white horse having the right ear black, is brought out and consecrated by certain incantations, and (being turned loose) it is followed in its march by an army for conquest which in a short time subdues the world and the king of every territory (which it enters) tenders submission and joins the victorious forces. They pretend that whoever performs this sacrifice a hundred times, becomes lord of heaven. Many are said to have attained this rank and marvellous legends are told of them. If he cannot perform that number he obtains an eminent place in that region.[10] Another is the *Rāja-suya-yajna*, one of the conditions attached to which is the presence of all the princes of the world at the great festival, each of whom is appointed to a particular duty, and the service at the banquet can be performed only by them. Whoever has twice inaugurated this ceremony becomes lord of heaven, and many (are said) to have obtained this happiness. There are manifold kinds of these sacrifices, but the two herein mentioned must suffice.

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[10] After the return of the king if successful, with the vanquished princes in his train, the horse was sometimes immolated, after the festival of rejoicing. Failure in conquest was followed by contempt and ridicule of overweening pretension. The antiquity of this sacrifice goes back to Vedic times. Albiruni briefly describes it in Chap. LXV. *Asvamedha* in Hastings, ii. 160.

The *Third kind* is—

DANA,

or

Alms giving

There are numerous forms of this meritorious precept and various are the modes by which the provision for man's last journey is secured The following sixteen are accounted the most important —

(1) *Tulā-dāna* or the *weighing* of the person against gold, silver and other valuables (2) *Hiranyagarbha-dāna* an idol of Brahmā is fashioned of gold, having four faces in each of which are two eyes, two ears, a mouth and nose It must have four hands, and the rest of the members are after the form of men It must be 72 fingers high and 48 in breadth Its weight may vary between a minimum of 33 *tolahs* and 4 *māshas* and a maximum of 3,410 *tolahs* It is decked with jewels, and incantations are pronounced over it (3) *Brahmānda-dāna*, or alms of the *egg of Brahmā* An egg is made of gold in two parts which when joined together have an oval shape Its weight varies between a minimum of 66 *tolahs* and 7 *māshas* and a maximum of 3,633 *tolahs* and 4 *māshas* [162] Its length and breadth may not be less than twelve fingers nor greater than one hundred (4) *Kalpa-taru-dāna* This is the name of a tree[11] (*taru*) which is one of the fourteen treasures brought out of the sea, as will be related A similar tree is made of gold, and birds are represented sitting on its branches It should weigh not less than 12 *tolahs*, and the maximum weight as above (5) *Go-sahasra-dāna*, is the alms of a *thousand cows* with one bull, having the tips of their horns, according to ability, plated with gold or silver and their humps covered with copper, with bells and tassels of yāk's hair round their necks, and pearls in the tails

[11] Of Indra s paradise, granting all desires *Dāna*, Hastings, iii 387-389 (under *Charity*)

(6) *Hiranya-kāmadhenu-dān*[12] A *golden cow and calf* are made, they may be of three kinds, the first weighs 3,410 *tolas*, the second, the half of this weight, and the third weighs one-fourth (7) *Hiranyāsva-dāna* A *golden horse* is fashioned weighing from ten *tolahs* to 3,633 *tolahs* and four *māshas* (8) *Hiranyāsva-ratha* A *chariot of gold* of the first of the above-mentioned weights is made with four wheels and from four to eight *horses* weighing from ten to 6,606 *tolahs* and eight *māshas* (9) *Hemahasti-ratha-dāna* is an alms of a *chariot of gold* drawn by four *elephants* Its weight is from sixteen *tolahs* and eight *māshas* to the maximum aforesaid (10) *Pancha-lāngala-dāna* is a gift of *five ploughs* of gold of the above weight (11) *Dhara-dāna*, is a figure of the surface of the *earth* made of gold, upon which are represented mountains, woods and seas, weighing not less than sixteen *tolahs*, eight *māshas*, and not more than 3,633 *tolahs* (12) *Visva-chakra-dāna* A *complete radiate* of eight petals is made of gold representing the entire dome of the heavens, and is of four weights, *viz* 3,333 *tolahs*, four *māshas* half of the above one-fourth 66 *tolahs*, 8 *māshas* (13) *Kalpa-latadāna* is in the shape of a *creeper* [P 163] Ten tendrils are made of gold, weighing from sixteen to 3,330 *tolahs*, four *māshas* (14) *Sapta-sāgara-dāna* The *seven seas* are represented in gold weighing not less than twenty-three *tolahs*, four *māshas*, and not more than the weight above given The length and breadth of each of these are twenty-one fingers, or the half thereof The first sea is filled with salt, the second, with milk, the third, with clarified butter, the fourth, with molasses, the fifth, with butter-milk, the sixth, with sugar, the seventh with Ganges-water (15) *Ratna-dhenu-dāna*, the

[12] *Dhenu* is a milch-cow, or a cow that has calved *Kāma-dhenu* is the cow of plenty, belonging to the sage Vasishtha, yielding all that is desired For *Hiranya-garbha* See p 163

[11] *Mahā-bhuta* signifies a 'huge creature and '*ghata*' is the frontal sinus of an elephant Ganesa was the son of Siva and Pārvati and is invoked at the beginning of undertakings as removing

representation of a *cow* with *a calf* made up of jewels (16) *Mahābhuta-ghata-dāna*, is a representation in gold of the figure of a man surmounted by the head of an elephant, which is called *Ganesa*. Its weight is from sixteen *tolahs*, eight *māshas* to 3,330 *tolas*, four *māshas*

In some works the first or *Tulā-dāna*, the weight whereof should be not less than 106 *tolahs*, eight *māshas*, nor more than 833 *tolahs*, four *māshas*, is alone given, and the remaining forms are omitted There is also some difference of opinion regarding the distribution. Some give only to the *Achārya* or teacher who shares the alms with others, while some bestow it also upon other Brāhmans

For each of these forms of charity, there are various injunctions Although no distinct season is fixed, they are regarded as of more efficacy in times of eclipse and when the sun enters Capricorn and on some other occasions Strange legends are told of them and of their results, as for instance regarding the first kind, if the giver weighs himself against gold, he will remain in paradise for a thousand million *kalpas* and advance from degree to degree of beatitude, and when he re-assumes human form will become a mighty monarch

The *Fourth kind* is—

SRADDHA,
or
Ceremonies in honour of deceased ancestors

The charity is given in the name of deceased ancestors and is of various kinds, but four are specially observed (1) On the day of decease and its anniversary (2) On the first day of the first quarter of the new moon (3) On the sixteenth lunar day of the month of *Kuar*, (Sept -Oct)

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obstacles He is represented as a short pot-bellied man frequently mounted on a rat or attended by one, and to denote his sagacity, has the head of an elephant, with, however, but one tusk —Monier Williams

(4) Bestowing charity in a place of worship in the name of the deceased

[164] The manner of performing it is to bestow money and gifts in kind, dressed and undressed, on Brāhmans in the name of father, grandfather and great grandfather including their wives, and in the same way on the three directly ascending male ancestors of the mother and their wives All four castes may perform this ceremony

When these four duties of worship, sacrifice, alms-giving and commemoration of the deceased, as now described, are performed, the worship of God is accounted to be perfectly carried out, and without them it is not effected

AVATARAS, *or* *Incarnations of the Deity* [14]

They believe that the Supreme Being in the wisdom of His counsel, assumes an elementary form of a special character for the good of the creation, and many of the wisest of the Hindus accept this doctrine Such a *complete* incarnation is called *Purnāvatāra*, and that principle which in some created forms is scintillant with the rays of the divinity and bestows extraordinary powers is called *Ansāvatāra* or *partial* incarnation These latter will not be here considered

Of the first kind they say that in the whole four *Yugas*, ten manifestations will take place, and that nine have up to the present time appeared.

MATSYAVATARA, *or* *Fish-Incarnation*

The Deity was herein manifested under the form of a fish They say that in the Drāvidā country at the extremity

[14] For the Avatārs see Hastings, *Encyclop* vii 193-197 (by Jacobi)

of the Dekhan in the city of Bhadrāvati, during the *Satya Yuga* on the eleventh lunar day of the month of *Phālguna* (Feb.-March), Rājā Manu, having withdrawn himself from all worldly concerns, and being then ten hundred thousand years of age, lived in the practice of great austerities. He was performing his ablutions on the banks of the river Kritamāla when a fish came into his hand and said "preserve me." It remained in his hand a day and night and as it increased in size, he put it into a cup, and when it grew larger, he placed it in a pitcher. When the latter could not contain it, he put it into a well and thence transferred it to a lake and afterwards to the Ganges. As the Ganges could not hold it, he gave it place in the ocean, and when it filled the ocean, the Rājā recognised the origin of the miracle and worshipped it and prayed for a revelation. He heard the following answer: "I am the Supreme Being. I have assumed the form of this creature for thy salvation and that of a few of the elect. After seven days the world will be destroyed and a flood shall cover the earth. Get thou into a certain ark with a few of the righteous together with the divine books and choice medicinal herbs and fasten the ark to this horn which cometh out of me." The deluge continued one million, seven hundred and twenty-eight thousand years after which it subsided.[15]

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[15] The story is told in the Mahābhārata with reference to the Matsya Purāna as its authority which would imply that the poem is later than the Purāna, but according to Wilson, the great epic is much older than any extant Purāna, and the simplicity of the story in the Mahābhārata is of much more antique complexion than the extravagance of the actual Matsya Purāna. In the former Manu collects the seeds of existing things in the ark, explained in the latter, as effected by the power of Yoga. In the latter, the great serpents come to serve as cords to fasten the ark to the horn of the fish; in the former, a cable of ropes is used. As the ark is borne on the waters, Manu enters into converse with the fish, and its replies which concern the creation, regal dynasties and the duties of the different orders, form the subject of the Purāna. —Wilson, *V. P.*

KURMAVATARA,
or
Tortoise-Incarnation

In the *Satya Yuga* in the light half of the month of *Kārttika* (Oct -Nov), on the twelfth lunar day, the Creator manifested himself in the shape of a tortoise They relate that the deities wished to obtain the water of immortality after the manner of butter by churning the ocean [165] of milk Instead of a churning-stick, they used the largest of the mountains, *Mandāra* From its excessive weight the mountain sank into the ocean, and great were their difficulties The Deity assumed this shape and bore up the mountain on his back and the gods obtained their desire

By this miraculous act, fourteen priceless objects were brought up from the sea —(1) *Lakshmi*, the goddess of fortune, appeared as a bride and thus a source of happiness to all creatures was obtained (2) *Kaustabha-mani*, or the wonderful jewel *Kaustabha*, of extraordinary lustre and in value beyond price (3) *Parijātaka-vriksha*, the miraculous tree *Parijātaka*[16] whose flowers never fade and whose fragrance fills the universe Some say that it grants all desires It is called also *Kalpavriksha* (4) *Sura*, (the goddess of) wine (5) *Dhanvantari*, the physician (of the gods) who could heal the sick and raise the dead to life In his right hand, he held a leech and in his left (a branch of) the myrobalan tree His Majesty considers that these two should be regarded separately and the number of treasures be accounted sixteen (6) *Chandra-mani*, the (moon-gem or) world-illumining moon (7) *Kāma-dhenu*, the miraculous cow which gave forth from her udders the gratification of every wish (8) *Airāvata*, the white elephant (of Indra) with four tusks (9). *Sankha*, the white conch-shell of wondrous sound that bestowed victory

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[16] The coral tree, *Erythrina Indica*, one of the five trees of Paradise

on whomsoever possessed it (10) *Visha*, deadly poison (11). *Amrita*, the water of life (12) *Rambhā*,[17] the nymph, beautiful and sweet-dispositioned (13) *Asva*, the horse with eight heads (14) *Sārangadhanus*, or the bow *Sāranga* of which the unerring arrow carried to any distance

After producing these inestimable treasures, the tortoise descended into the earth and is believed still to exist

VARAHAVATARA,

or

Boar-Incarnation

In the *Satya Yuga*, on the day of the full moon in the month of *Kārttika* (Oct -Nov) in the city of *Brahmāvarta* near *Nimishāra*[18] and Ayodhya, this manifestation took place [P 166] One of the *Daityas* named *Hiranyāksha* had passed a long period in the practice of austerities and the worship of God One day the Deity appeared to him in visible form and asked him what he desired Rejoiced at these gracious words, he enumerated many noxious animals and prayed for exemption from their injury and that he might be monarch of the whole universe Shortly after he obtained his wishes, and dispossessing Indra of the sovereignty of heaven, committed its charge to one of his own kindred The deities and Brahmā

[17] A nymph of Indra s paradise, sometimes regarded as a form of Lakshmi, and popularly accepted as a type of female beauty The order and number of these ocean treasures varies in different accounts See the *Vishnu Purāna* on the churning of the ocean I IX

[18] Or *Naimisha* from S *nimisha*, a twinkling the name of a forest and shrine, celebrated as the residence of certain Rishis to whom Sauti related the Mahābhārata The district was so-called because the sage Gaura-mukha destroyed an army of Asuras in a *twinkling* Monier Williams, who refers to the *Mahabh.* Adi, p 7275, Vana, p 6079 It is called Nimkhār in the *I. G*, a town in the Sitapur Dist, Oudh, on the left bank of the Gumti, 20 miles from Sitapur town Lat 27° 20′ 55″ N and long 80° 31′ 40″ It is described as a place of great sanctity with numerous tanks and temples In one of the tanks, Rāma is said to have washed away his sin of slaying a Brāhman in the person of Rāvana, the ravisher of Sita

hastened to Vishnu and besought his aid As in the request for exemption the name of the boar had been omitted, they received this answer, "I will manifest myself under that form and deprive him of life"

Soon afterwards, Vishnu took this shape and entering his capital, destroyed him This is pointed out as having taken place at Soron[19] The earth was again peopled with the virtuous and Indra recovered his sovereignty of the world above

The period of this manifestation was a thousand years

NARA-SINHA,

or

Man Lion-Incarnation

This was a form from the head to the waist like a lion and the lower parts resembling a man, and was manifested in the *Satya Yuga* on the fourteenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha* (April-May), in the city of *Hiranyapura* now commonly called Hindaun[20] near the metropolis of Agra They say that *Hiranyakasipu* of the Daitya race spent many long years in a life of austerity until the Deity appeared to him and asked his desire His first prayer was that his death might not take place by night nor by day and next, he begged protection against all noxious animals which he severally named, and lastly, that he might obtain sovereignty over the realms above and below His request was granted The deities yielded submission to him and the world was filled with the unrighteous The chief spirits implored aid of Vishnu through Brahmā and their prayer was heard It is

[19] In the Etah district, N W P It is a town of great antiquity according to the *I G* and was originally known as Ukala-Kshetra, but after the destruction of Hiranyāksha, the name was changed to Sukara-Kshetra (beneficent-region) Devout Hindus after visiting Mathurā, go on to Soron to bathe in the Barhgangā which is here lined with handsome temples and *ghāts*

[20] In the Jaipur State, situated in 26° 44′ N, and long 77° 5′ E, on the old route from Agra to Mhow, 71 miles S W of the former

said that *Hiranyakasipu* had a son called *Prahlāda* who, like the deities, worshipped the Supreme God and followed the path of truth in spite of his father, who though he subjected his son to much persecution, was unable to turn him from that course. One evening his father asked him where the Supreme Being dwelt. He replied that he was omnipresent and to explain his meaning, pointed to a pillar in which also he declared the Deity to be. The king in folly smote it with his sword, and by a miracle from heaven, the above form came forth from it and tore him to pieces at the interval of time between night and day, and his death was caused by an animal of a specially-created type. It is said that this divine form asked *Prahlāda* to choose some boon. The great-souled youth prayed only for final liberation (*jivan-mukti*), [167] which is eternal life freed from the defilement of corporal existence and from the bonds of joy and sorrow. This manifestation continued one hundred years.[1]

VAMANA,
or
Dwarf-Incarnation

In the *Tretā Yuga*, on the twelfth day of the light half of the month of *Bhādrapada* (H. *Bhādon*, Aug-Sept.) in the city of *Sonbhadrā* on the banks of the Narbadā, this new manifestation was born of Aditi in the house of Kasyapa, the son of Marichi, the son of the legendary Brahmā. This incarnation continued a thousand years. *Bali* of the Daitya race underwent an austere penance to obtain the sovereignty of the three worlds. The Bountiful Giver of all desires revealed himself and granted his wish and Bali thus obtained a mighty dominion. Having subdued the throned princes of the gods, he left them in possession of their principalities.

[1] Four chapters of the *Vishnu Purāna*, from the 17th to the 21st, are taken up with the history of the legend. The story is told in detail only in the *Bhāgavata Purāna*.

He performed many sacrifices, but neglected to present to the deities their customary offerings The latter, through the intercession of Brahmā, implored Vishnu to dethrone him who comforted them by revealing the issue of events In the same year this moon-orb displayed its radiance, and when the child grew in wisdom, in conformity with rule and custom he was placed under the tuition of the sage *Bharadwāja* With his preceptor he attended the sacrifice which the king had inaugurated at Kurukshetra and after the royal custom, Bali asked him what boon he desired He replied, "I ask of thee as much ground as I can cover with three steps" The king in amazement rejoined 'Is so slight a gift craved of a monarch so illustrious and powerful?" When at last, after some debate he consented, the first step was so great that it covered the earth and the lower regions The second measured the extent of the celestial world The Rājā delivered himself up in bonds in commutation of the third step On account of the natural goodness of the Rājā's disposition, after depriving him of his universal sovereignty, he conceded to him the rule of the nether world.

PARASURAMAVATARA,

or

Incarnation of Rāma with the axe

In the house of Jamadagni a Brāhman, and of his wife Renukā, during the *Tretā Yuga*, on the third day of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha*, in the village of Rankatta near Agra, this human form was born

Kārttavirya of the Daitya[22] race, who had neither hands nor feet, was at that time on the throne In great affliction

[22] This is an error, probably of a copyist He was sovereign of the Haihaya tribe, descendants of Yadu from the twelfth prince of the lunar line Of this tribe there were five great divisions, the Tālojanghas, Vitihotras, Avantyas Tundikeras and Jātas They dwelt in Central India The capital of the first named was Māhishmati or Chuli Maheswar still called, according to Col Todd

on account of his misfortune, he abandoned the world and retired to the Kailāsa mountain to undergo penance Mahādeva vouchsafing his favour, gave him a thousand arms and at his prayer bestowed on him the sovereignty of the three worlds But he oppressed the deities for which reason they implored his destruction, and their supplication was heard They say that Jamadagni was descended from Mahādeva and Renukā from Aditi mother of the deities (*Adityas*). She had five sons, the fifth being Parasurāma. He was [168] instructed by Mahadeva in the Kailāsa mountain, and Jamadagni his father worshipped in the desert Kārttavirya was one day engaged in the pastime of hunting and he happened to pass by the hermitage of Jamadagni and sought there to satisfy his hunger and thirst The hermit brought forth food and drink, besides jewels and valuable presents befitting a monarch The king was amazed and refused to touch them till he was informed concerning their possession He replied that Indra, the ruler of the celestial regions, had bestowed upon him the cow *Kāmadhenu* which supplied him with all that he required The king, seized with avarice, demanded the cow He answered that he could not comply with his request without the sanction of Indra, and that no earthly power could take possession of it The king enraged determined to use force, but notwithstanding all the troops he could collect and his hostile attempts, he could not prevail At length one

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Sahasra-bāhu ki basti, village of the thousand armed,' i e, of Kārttavirya (*Rajāsthān,* I 39, n) These tribes must have preceded the Rajput tribes by whom their country, Mālwa, Ujjain and the valley of the Narbadā, is now occupied A remnant of the Haihaya still exists at the top of the valley of Sohāgpur in Bagel-khand, aware of their ancient lineage and celebrated for their valour Their predatory connection with the Sakas, suggests their Scythian origin, which the word Haya, meaning in Sansk a horse, is supposed to confirm, perhaps from their nomadic habits implied in the Homeric name, Hippemolgi Wilson hints their connection with the Huns See his notes to Book, IV, Chapters III and XI, *V P* The Kailāsa mountain, the fabled Paradise of Siva is placed by the Hindus, north of the Mānasa lake and regarded as one of the loftiest peaks of the Himalayas *Vide* Vol II, 313, n 2

night he came secretly and slew Jamadagni, but found no trace of the cow Renukā sent for her son Parasurāma, and performing the funeral ceremonies of the deceased, burnt herself according to the custom of her people and laid upon her son the injunction to avenge her Parasurāma, endued with miraculous power, set out to engage the king, and twenty pitched battles took place In the last, the king was slain and the deities recovered their sovereignty He then collected the wealth of the universe and bestowed it in alms at a sacrificial ceremony, and then abandoning the world, retired to the obscurity of a solitude [23]

He is still believed to be living and his habitation is pointed out in the mountain Mahendra of the Konkan

RAMAVATARA,

or

Rāma-Incarnation

They relate that Rāvana one of the *Rākshasas* two generations in descent from Brahmā,[24] had ten heads and twenty hands He underwent austerities for a period of ten thousand years in the Kailāsa mountain and devoted his heads, one after another in this penance in the hope of obtaining the sovereignty of the three worlds The Deity appeared to him and granted his prayer The gods were afflicted by his rule and as in the former instances, solicited his dethronement which was vouchsafed, and Rāma was appointed to accomplish this end He was accordingly born during the *Tretā Yuga* on the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra*

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[23] This fable is taken from the *Mahābhārata* and inserted in the 7th Chapter, Book IV, of the *Vishnu Purāna* In this, Rāma uses his axe to cut off his mother's head at the command of his father, who restored her again to life at his son's request The sons of Kārttavirya are there said to revenge the death of their father by slaying Jamadagni in Rāma's absence

[24] He was the son of Visravas, son of Pulastya, son of Brahmā

(March-April) in the city of Ayodhya, of Kausalya wife of Rājā Dasaratha At the first dawn of intelligence, he acquired much learning and withdrawing from all worldly pursuits, set out journeying through wilds and gave a fresh beauty to his life by visiting holy shrines He became lord of the earth and slew Rāvana He ruled for eleven thousand years and introduced just laws of administration [25]

KRISHNAVATARA,

or

Incarnation as Krishna

More than four thousand years ago, Ugrasena of the Yadu race bore sway in his capital of Mathurā His son Kansa rebelled and dethroning his father ruled with a persecuting hand, while at the same time Jarāsandha, Sisupāla and other princes of the Daityas exercised unbounded tyranny [P 169] The afflicted earth assuming the form of a cow, hastened with Brahmā to Vishnu and implored their destruction The prayer was granted and the divine commission was entrusted to Krishna They say that the astrologers foretold to Kansa that a child would shortly be born and that his reign would be at an end He thereupon ordered the slaughter of all infants and thus each year the blood of many innocent children was shed until his sister Devaki married Vasudeva of the Yadu race Now Kansa heard a report that Devaki's eighth son would be the cause of his death He therefore confined them both in prison and put to death every son that was born to them In the beginning of the *Kali Yuga,* on the eighth lunar day of the dark half of the month of *Bhādrapada* (Aug -Sept), in the city of Mathurā near the metropolis

[25] The literature of the *Rāmāyana* in various languages is sufficiently well-known to dispense with a reference to the details of this *Avatāra* For the *Rāmāyana,* see Hastings, *Encyclo* x 574-578 and Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*

of Agra, the child was born while the guards were negligent The fetters fell off and the doors were opened and the child spoke thus "On the other side of the Jamuna, a girl has even now been born in the house of the cowherd Nanda, and the family are asleep Take and leave me there and bring the girl hither " As Vasudeva set out to fulfill this injunction, the river became fordable and the command was obeyed Krishna in his ninth year killed Kansa, released Ugrasena from prison and seated him on the throne He also engaged the other tyrants and overthrew them

He lived one hundred and twenty-five years and had 16,108 wives, each of whom gave birth to ten sons and one daughter, and each wife thought that she alone shared her husband's bed

BUDDHAVATARA,
or
Buddha-Incarnation

He was born of Māya in the house of Rājā Sudhodhana of the race of Rāmachandra during the *Kali Yuga*, on the eighth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha* in the city of Magadh

They say that as many sacrifices were performed at this period and the number of animals sacrificed was very large, Vishnu willed to appear in human form to condemn the Vedic institutions and their sacrificial rites For this reason he became incarnate in that year and lived to the age of a hundred Some account of him has already preceded

KALKYAVATARA,
or
Kalki-Incarnation

At the close of the *Kali Yuga*, in the tenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha*, this birth will take place in

the family of the Brāhman Vishnuyasas from the womb of his wife Yasovati in the town of Sambhala [26]

They say that a time will come when a just prince will not be left upon the earth, iniquity will abound, grain become excessively dear, and [P 170] the age of men will become shortened so that they will not live beyond thirty years, and deaths will be rife For the remedy of these disorders, the Deity will become incarnate and renew the world in righteousness

Some add fourteen other *Avatāras*, making them twenty-four, and have written works on the histories of each, relating many extraordinary legends

Many men fashion images of these *Avatāras* in silver and gold and worship them, but the Jainas and Buddhas do not believe in the complete incarnations (*Purnavatāras*)

Unclean Things

These are,—wine, blood, semen, excrement, urine, excretions from the mouth, nose, ears and eyes, sweat, hair, detached nails, bones of animals whose flesh is forbidden, a woman in her courses, and one newly delivered during the period hereinafter stated, any dead animal, forbidden food, a sweeper, an ass, a dog, (tame) swine, the dust that rises from off an ass, goat, sheep or broom, and the mud shaken out of a garment, a sinner guilty of the five great sins, or whoever touches such, a crow, a (tame domestic) cock, a mouse, a eunuch, the smoke from a burnt corpse, a washerman, a hunter, a fisherman, a gamester, a spirit-seller, an executioner, a tanner, a dyer, a currier, and an oilman

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[26] See Vol II He is to appear on a white horse with a flashing sword for the final destruction of Mlechchhas and those that love iniquity, and to re-establish righteousness The similarity of the idea and expression to the Apocalyptic vision of the white horse and its rider will readily occur to mind and the analogy between some of these manifestations and certain scenes in the New Testament has often been observed and is not the result of accident

PURIFIERS

Knowledge, austerity, suspension of breath (*prānāyāma*), religious exercises of the *Sandhyā*, sun-light, moon-light, fire, water, air, earth, ashes, mustard-seed, wild produce of the earth, shade of a tree, the back and legs of a cow, a plough, a broom, sour things, salt-water, mouth of a horse or goat, eating certain food, the lapse of time, milk, butter-milk, clarified butter, and the dung and urine of a cow

STATE OF PURIFICATION [27]

Knowledge and austerity purify the soul When the inward person is unclean by improper food, it is purified by suppression of breath and the wild produce of the earth a drunkard by molten glass When the body is defiled by ordure, wine, blood and the like, it becomes pure by cleansing below the navel with earth and water, and above it with earth and water, rinsing the teeth, washing the eyes, bathing, abstaining for a day and a night from food and drink, and afterwards eating five things from a cow [28] A pathway or water that has been polluted by the shadow of a *Chandāl* (pariah) is again purified by sunlight, moonlight, and air If the ordure of any animal falls into a well, sixty pitchers full of water must be taken out, if into a tank, a hundred pitchers,

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[27] On Hindu ideas of purification Hastings *Encyclo* x 490-491 and food vi 63-65 Prohibitions and permissions in regard to food and ceremonial purification are treated in the V Lecture of Manu's *Ordinances* Albiruni says that he was informed by Hindus that before the time of Bhārata, the meat of cows was permitted, and cows were killed at certain sacrifices and that the reason of the prohibition was their unwholesomeness as food In a hot climate the inner parts of the body are cold, the natural warmth is feeble and the digestion is so weak, that it has to be strengthened by chewing the betel-nut The betel inflames the bodily heat, the chalk in the betel leaves dries up everything wet, and the betel-nut acts as an astringent on the teeth, gums and stomach Hence cow s meat was forbidden as it is essentially thick and cold II Chapter 58

[28] Milk, buttermilk ghee, dung of a cow and its urine, [Sanskr *pancha gavya*]

any part of a river, is purified by its own flow. From oil that is defiled, the contaminating matter is taken out and the oil is boiled Milk cannot be purified except only when the shadow of a *Chandāl* may have fallen upon it, in which case it becomes pure by boiling Cotton, leaves, molasses, grain become pure by the sprinking of a little water after removing the defilement Gold, silver, stone, vegetable produce, rope and whatever grows beneath [P 171] the earth and utensils of cane are purified by water, and if they have been defiled by unclean oil and the like, by hot water. Clothes are purified by water Wooden vessels if defiled by the touch of a *Chandāl* cannot be made pure, but if touched by a *Sudra* or any unclean thing, may be purified by scraping, and wood and bone and horn must be treated in the same manner Anything made of stone after being washed must be buried for seven days A sieve, a winnowing basket, a deer-skin, and the like, and a pestle-and-mortar, are purified by being sprinkled with water A cart may be scraped in the part defiled and the rest dashed with water An earthen vessel is purified by being heated in the fire and the ground by one of the following sweeping, lighting a fire thereon, ploughing, lapse of a considerable time, being touched by the feet or back of a cow, sprinkling with water, digging or plastering with cow-dung Food smelt by a cow or into which hair, flies or lice have fallen, is purified with ashes and water. If any thing is defiled by excretions from the mouth, nose, eyes, ears, or sweat, or touched by hair or nails detached from one's own body, it should be first washed, and then scoured with clean earth, and again washed until the smear and smell have gone. Excretions from the mouth, nose, ears, or eyes of another, if they come from above the navel, must if possible, be purified as above described, after which he must bathe all below the navel, and the two hands are purified by cleansing in the same way If he be defiled with spirituous liquor, semen, blood, catamenia, (the touch of) a lying-in woman,

ordure and urine, he must wash with water and scour with earth, and again wash with water if the defilement be above the navel, if it extend below, after the second washing, he must rub himself with butter from a cow and then with its milk, and afterwards with its butter-milk, and next smear himself with cowdung and wash in its urine, and finally drink three handfuls of water from the river If he touch a washerman, or a dyer, or a currier, or an executioner, or a hunter, or a fisherman, or an oilman, or tame swine, he is purified by water only. But if he touch a woman in her courses or a lying-in woman, or a sweeper, or a great sinner, or a corpse, or a dog, or an ass, cat, crow, domestic cock, mouse or a eunuch, or the smoke of a burning corpse, or the dust from an ass, dog, goat or sheep reach him, he must enter the water in his clothes and bathe and look at the sun and pronounce incantations to it After touching a greasy human bone, he must bathe with his clothes on or else wash himself and drink three handfuls of water and look at the sun and put his hand upon a cow Where the sun is not visible, he must look upon fire If silk or wool come in contact with any thing the touch of which (in a man) would require his bathing, it is purified by air and sunshine if it be not actually defiled, otherwise it must also be washed A woman in her courses becomes pure after the fourth day

If it is not known whether a thing be clean or unclean, they accept the decision of some virtuous person regarding it or sprinkle it with water The details on this subject are numerous.

Improper Dress.

[172] A blue garment, unless it be of silk or wool, is improper for any caste except a Sudra, but a Brāhman's wife at night, and a Kshatriya woman as a bride or at a feast, may wear it, and a Vaisya woman must avoid it when perform-

ing the *Srāddha* or funeral rites The women of all three castes may not wear it when cooking or eating

PROHIBITED FOOD

Human flesh, beef, horse-flesh, domestic cocks and hens, the parrot, the *Sārika*, the *Mynah*, the pigeon, the owl, the vulture, the chameleon, the bustard, the *Sāras* (Ardea antigone), the *Papiha* and waterfowl, frogs, snakes, weasels and animals whose toes are joined (web-footed birds) animals that abide in towns, except the goat, the ruddy goose (Anas casarca), the pond-heron (Ardea torra), dried fish or flesh, five kinds of fish, *viz* —(1) The *Rohu*, (Cyprinus Rohita) (2) The *Patthar Chatā* (Stone licker) (3) The *Sankara* (probably a skate the *Raia Sankar*) (4) The *Rājiva* (5) The *Bārahi*[29] carnivorous animals, the camel, the elephant, the rhinoceros, the monkey, the various reptiles, all that produces intoxication, camel s milk, mare's milk, and the milk of all animals that divide not the hoof, goat's and ewe's milk, the milk of forest animals, woman's milk, milk from a cow in the first ten days after calving, milk of a cow whose calf has died, till she calves again, garlic, leeks, carrots, the Sebesten plum (Cordia Sebestena) the produce from unclean land, or food which a man's foot has touched or the hand of a woman in her courses, anything from the house of a courtesan, or a thief, or a carpenter, or a usurer, or a blacksmith, or a polisher, or a goldsmith, or a washerman, or a weaver, or a tanner, or a currier, or a singer or dancer, or an armourer, or

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[29] The last named, of which there are several variants, and the second and third, are not in Manu who mentions the *pathina* and *simhatunda* which together with the *rājiva* and *rohu* or *rohita* are declared to be *lawful*, but the commentator Medha-tithi limits the two latter to use at sacrificial ceremonies I do not find the Patthar-chata mentioned in Day s *Fishes of India* Stone-licking is common to a good many if not to all The Sankāra is perhaps, a skate, the Raia *Sankur*, Rājiva signifies streaked or striped, and is mentioned by Monier Williams as a fish whose spawn is said to be poisonous I cannot identify it nor the following name Bārahi The rhinoceros is a disputed animal, *M V*. 18, n 6

a dog keeper, or a seller of spirits, or a physician, or a surgeon, or a hunter, or a eunuch, food set apart or the food of one who has committed the five great sins,[30] food dressed for offerings to the deities, leavings of food of one in mourning during the period of mourning, food of an unchaste woman, cheese and the like that is made of milk,[31] all food dressed with oil or water and left all night, whatever becomes sour from being left long, food in which hair or insects may have fallen, food eaten without the five ceremonies which are obligatory before meals, as will be now described

These details are already numerous and what has been said must suffice

Ceremonies in Cooking and Eating

Each time before cooking, if it be in the house, the floor and part of the wall should be plastered with cowdung and earth, and if it be in the woods, as much ground as will hold the materials and the cooking utensils No one but the person who cooks may occupy the spot, and he must first bathe and put on a loin-cloth and cover his head and thus complete his meal If a piece of paper or dirty rag or other such thing fall on the plastered space, the food is spoilt He must bathe again and newly plaster the ground and provide fresh materials The cook must be either the mistress of the family or a Brāhman whose special duty this may be, or a relation, or the master of the house himself [173]

Before eating, the place where they sit must be plastered in the same way, and they occupy it without spreading any covering on the ground, but a stool or a wooden board, bare as aforesaid, may be used

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[30] Slaying a Brāhman, drinking spirituous liquor, theft, adultery with the wife of a Guru are the four great crimes, associating with those who commit them is the fifth Manu IX, 235, and X, 55

[31] Curdled milk and all produced from it are expressly allowed

Next, the following five ceremonies are regarded as indispensable —(1) Reading some portion of the *Vedas* (2). Sprinkling water as a libation to departed ancestors. (3). Placing some food in front of the idol (4) Throwing a little food on the ground in the name of the deities (5) Giving some to the poor. First the children eat, then the relations satisfy themselves, after which the man himself partakes, but not out of the same dish with another even though it be a child. None but the cook may bring any provisions to the gathering If by accident his hand touches any one, or he is touched by others, whatever food he holds in his hand at the time he must throw away, and bathing anew, bring fresh materials, unless the cook be a woman, for whom it will suffice to wash her hands and feet The cook eats last of all In drinking also, each person must have a separate vessel

Formerly it was the custom for a Brāhman to eat at the house of a Brāhman or of a Kshātriya or of a Vaisya, and a Kshātriya might eat at any house but that of a Sudra, and a Vaisya in the same way, but in this cycle of *Kali Yuga*, each must take his meal in the house of his own caste The utensils from which they eat are generally the leaves of trees, and fashioned of gold, silver, brass, and also of bell-metal, and they avoid the use of copper, earthenware, and stone vessels They also consider it improper to eat from a broken dish or from the leaves of the *bar* or banyan tree (*ficus Indica*), the *pipal*, (*ficus religiosa* and the swallow-wort (*Asclepeas gigantea*) [32] To eat twice either in the night or day is not approved

[32] These being sacred, the flowers of the *Asclepeas* are placed upon the idol Mahādeva It secretes an acrid milky juice which flows from wounds in the shrub, and is applied to various medicinal purposes, and preparations of the plant are employed to cure all kinds of fits, epilepsy, hysterics, convulsions, poisonous bites The flowers are large and beautiful, a mixture of rose and purple there is also a white-flowered variety Roxburgh, *Flora Indica*

RULES OF FASTING

These are of numerous kinds, but a few will be mentioned.

The first kind is when they neither eat nor drink during the day and night, and twenty-nine of these days are obligatory during the year, *viz* , on the eleventh day of each lunar fortnight of every month, the *Sivarātri*;[33] the fourteenth of the light half of the month of *Vaisākha* (April-May) in which the birth of the *Nara-Sinha*, or Man-lion took place, the third of the light half of the same month being the anniversary of the birth of *Parasurāma*, the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra* (March-April), the nativity of *Rāma*, and the eighth of the dark half of the month of *Bhādra-pada* (*Bhādon*, Aug -Sept), the nativity of Krishna On these occasions, some abstain from grain only, and other authorities lay down particular details

The second kind They eat only at night

The third kind They take only water, fruit and milk

The fourth kind They eat but once during the day and night, but may drink water at any time

The fifth kind They do not of their own desire eat during twenty-four hours, but if pressed to do so, they may partake of food not more than once

The sixth kind is the Chandrāyana, which is in five ways —(1) On the first day of the month, one mouthful is taken and an increase of one mouthful made daily till the fifteenth, from which date it diminishes daily by the like quantity [P 174] (2) Or on the first of the month, fifteen mouthfuls are taken and the consumption daily diminishes till the fifteenth, when it is reduced to one mouthful, after which it again increases by one mouthful daily (3) Some

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[33] Siva's night, a popular festival in honour of Siva kept on the 14th of the dark half of the month of *Māgha* (Jan -Feb) When Siva is worshipped under the type of the *Linga*, a rigorous fast is observed Monier Williams Hindu fasting, Hastings, *Encyclop* , v 761, vii 362

say that instead of this, three mouthfuls, should be taken each half-day, and nothing else should be touched (4) Or, again, eight mouthfuls each half-day, four in the morning and four in the evening (5) Or two hundred and forty mouthfuls may be eaten (during the month) in any manner at will The size of the mouthful should be that of a pea-hen's egg, and the faster should bathe regularly morning, noon, and evening.

The seventh kind They neither eat nor drink for twelve days.

The eighth kind Out of twelve days, they eat a little once daily for three days consecutively, and once at night only for three days, during three other days and nights they do not eat unless some one brings them food, and for the remaining three, they fast altogether

The ninth kind For three days and nights they eat no more than one handful, and for three other days the same allowance only at night for three more days and nights if any food is brought to them, they may take one handful, and for three days and nights they eat nothing

The tenth kind For three days and nights, they swallow only warm water for three other such periods only hot milk, and again for three days and nights hot clarified butter, and for three days and nights they light a fire and put the mouth against an opening by which the hot air enters, which they inhale

The eleventh kind Out of fifteen days, for three days and nights they eat only leaves, and for three days and nights only the Indian fig, for three days and nights they are content with the seeds of the lotus; for three days and nights, leaves of the *pipal;* for three days and nights, the kind of grass called *dābha.*[34]

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[34] Or *darbha*, the name specially of the *kusa-grass* (*Poa Cynosuroides*) used at sacrificial ceremonies, but also applied to the *Saccharum spontaneum* and *S cylin dricum*.

The twelfth kind For six days out of the week they must content themselves with one of the following six consecutively, the produce of the cow —(1) Urine. (2) Dung (3) Milk (4) Buttermilk (5) Butter (6) Water On the seventh he must abstain from food altogether

During every kind of fast they must abstain from meat, the pulse *Adas*, (*Cicer lens*), the bean *Lobiyā*, (*Dolichos Sinensis*), honey and molasses, they must sleep on the ground, they may not play at such games as *chaupar* and *solah*,[35] nor approach their wives at night, nor anoint themselves with oil, nor shave, and the like, and they must give alms daily and perform other good works

Enumeration of Sins

Although these exceed expression, and a volume could not contain them, they may be classed in seven degrees

The first degree comprises five kinds which cannot be expiated

(1) Killing a Brāhman (2) Incest with the mother (3) Drinking spirituous liquors by a Brāhman, Kshātriya or Vaisya, accounted no sin, however, in a Sudra Some authorities name three kinds of spirits, *viz*, distilled from rice or other grain from *mahwā* (*Bassia Latifolia*), and the like from molasses and similar things All three are forbidden to the Brāhman, the first-named only to the Kshātriyá and the Vaisya (4) Stealing ten *māshas* of gold (5) Associating for one year with anyone guilty of these four

The second degree Untruth in regard to genealogy, carrying a slander to the king, and false accusation of a Guru, are equivalent to slaying a Brāhman

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[35] Both are games of hazard the latter is also called *solah-bagghu* The names are derivatives from the numerals four and sixteen respectively, *chaupar* having two transverse bars in the form of a cross drawn on the playing cloth, and the other played with a number of lines drawn on the ground

Carnal connection with sisters by the same mother,[36] with immature girls, with women of the lowest class, and the wives of curriers, painters, rope-dancers, fishermen and fowlers, and the wife of one's friend or son, is equivalent to the second great sin (of the first degree) [P. 175]

Forgetting the Vedas, or showing them contempt, false testimony (without a bad motive), killing a relation (without malice), and eating prohibited things, are equivalent to the third sin of the first degree

Betrayal of trust in regard to a deposit, and stealing a human creature, a horse, jewels, silver and land, are equivalent to stealing gold.

Third degree Killing a cow, adultery with other than the above named women, theft of other things besides (gold), killing a woman,[37] a Kshatriya, a Vaisya or a Sudra (without malice), bewitching, oppression of others, exacting illegal imposts, procuring for immoral purposes, prostitution and making a livelihood thereby, deserting a teacher or father or mother, usury as has been noticed, trading in a Brāhman or Kshatriya unless through necessity, in which case they may not deal in oil, salt, sweetmeats, cooked food, sesame-seed, stone, living animals, red cloths, hempen, linen or woollen cloths, fruits, medicines, arms, poison, flesh, perfumes, milk, honey, buttermilk, spirituous liquors, indigo, lac, grass, water and leather goods non-payment of the three debts,[38] that is to the gods, which is sacrifice, to spiritual teachers, which is reading the *Vedas;* and to ancestors for the procreation of their kind omitting investiture of the sacred thread at the

[36] Taken in this sense by Sir W Jones, and confirmed by the commentator Medhātithi, but Hopkins translates "with women born of one's own mother" Manu, XI 59 For sins see Hastings, xi 560-562

[37] The variant in the notes is correct and I have adopted it instead of the reading of the text which makes the woman the wife of the castes that follow See Manu, XI, 67

[38] To the gods, manes and men, are the three debts with which man is born XI 66, n, 7, Hopkins

proper time, deserting one's kindred, selling a son, a wife, a garden, a well, or a holy pool, digging up green produce from the ground having no need of it, performing the *pāka* sacrifice with a selfish view merely, application to the books of a false religion, doing service for hire as a Brāhman,[19] marrying before an elder brother all these are considered equivalent to killing a cow

Fourth degree Dissimulation, sodomy, molesting a Brāhman, smelling any spirituous liquor, and anything extremely fœtid or unfit to be smelt

Fifth degree Killing an elephant, a horse, a camel, a deer, a goat, a sheep, a buffalo, a *nilgao*, a fish, an ass, a dog, a cat, a pig and the like, receiving property from forbidden persons as a Chandāla or pariah, and the like, trading in the things aforesaid without necessity, falsehood, and serving a Sudra

Sixth degree Killing small insects like ants, eating from the hand or vessel of a wine-seller

Seventh degree. Stealing fruit, flowers, and firewood, want of mental firmness on important occasions

For each of these degrees of sin certain penances have been appointed, the performance of which releases from further penalty for instance, they say that whoever kills a Brāhman will transmigrate into the form of a deer, a dog, a camel, or boar When he takes human form he will be subject to diseases and end his life in great afflictions The expiation is to cut off pieces of his own flesh and skin and throw them into the fire, or for twelve years forsake his family and taking a human skull in his hand, go abegging and from street to street and door to door proclaim his wickedness, this is, provided it was accidental, otherwise this penance lasts twenty-four years

[19] That is, teaching the Vedas for hire working in mines and dykes and bridges and other mechanical works, serving a Sudra, all of which are forbidden

INTERIOR SINS

[176] Although they hold these to be very numerous twelve are accounted heinous —(1). *Krodha*, being under the influence of anger (2) *Lobha*, inordinate desire of rank and wealth (3). *Dvesha*, hatred towards men. (4). *Rāga*, love of worldly pleasures (5) *Māna*, esteeming one's self above others (6) *Moha*, ignorance. (7) *Mada*, intoxication from spirituous liquors or wealth or youth or station or knowledge (8) *Soka*, absorption in grief through loss of goods, reputation or honour, or separation from friends (9) *Mamatva*, considering the things of the world as one's own (10) *Ahankāra*, egoism (11) *Bhaya*, fearing other than God (12) *Harsha*, joy in one's own virtue and the evil of others.

The endeavour of such as desire to know God should be first to restrain themselves from these twelve sins until they acquire virtuous dispositions and become worthy to attain to the divine union Some say that all evil actions are reducible to ten heads,[40] of which three corrupt the heart, *viz* , coveting the goods of another, resolving on any forbidden deed; scepticism in regard to the chosen servants of God The same number defile the members of the body, *viz* , taking the goods of another by force, injury to the innocent, adultery

The sins of the tongue are four, *viz.*, scurrilous language, falsehood, slander, and useless tattle.

May the omnipotent Lord keep us from these ten sins and bring us to the goal of our desire

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[40] This is taken from Manu, XII 5, 6, 7 Resolving on forbidden things is defined by a commentator as desiring to kill a Brāhman and the like, and the third in conceiving notions of materialism and atheism

CHAPTER IX

SACRED PLACES OF PILGRIMAGE

Although profound and enlightened moralists are convinced that true happiness consists in the acquisition of virtue and recognise no other temple of God but a pure heart, nevertheless the physicians of the spiritual order, from their knowledge of the pulsation of human feeling, have bestowed on certain places a reputation for sanctity and thus rousing the slumberers in forgetfulness and instilling in them the enthusiastic desire of seeking God, have made these shrines instruments for their reverencing of the just, and the toils of the pilgrimage a means of facilitating the attainment of their aim

These holy places are of four degrees

The first is termed *deva* or divine and dedicated to Brahmā, Vishnu and Mahādeva The greatest among these are twenty-eight rivers in the following order —[P 177]

(1) Ganges (2) Sarasvati (3) Jamuna (4) Narbadā (5) Vipāsā, known as Biāh (Hyphasis) (6) Vitastā (Hydaspes or Bidaspes) known as the Bihat (7) Kausiki, a river near Rhotās in the Panjāb, but some place it in the neighbourhood of Garhi in the eastern districts (8) Nandāvati (9) Chandrabhāgā, known as the Chenāb (10) Sarayu (Sarju) known as the Sarāu (11) Satyavati (12) Tāpi known as Tapti upon the (north) bank of which is Burhānpur (13) Pārāvati (14) Pāsāvati (15) Gomati (Gumti) near Dvārakā (16) Gandaki, upon the banks of which is Sultānpur of the Subah of Oudh (17) Bāhudā (18) Devikā (Deva or Gogra) (19) Godāvari, called also Bānganga Pattan of the Dekhan is situated on its bank (20) Tāmraparni at the extremity of the Dekhan Here pearls are found. (21) Charmanvati. (22) Varana, near Benares. (23). Irāvati,

known as the Rāvi (Hydraotes). Lahor is on its bank (24) Satadru (the hundred-channelled), known as the Sutlej Ludhiana is upon its bank. (25) Bhimarathi, [178] called also the Bhimā, in the Dekhan. (26) Parnasonā. (27). Vanjara, in the Dekhan (28) Achamiyyā Some include the Indus, but it is not of the same sanctity [1]

Each of these rivers as dedicated to one of these deities, has peculiar characteristics ascribed to it Some of the places situated on their banks are esteemed holy, as, for example, the village of Soron on the Ganges, to which multitudes flock on the twelfth of the month of *Aghan* (Nov.-Dec) Some regard certain cities as dedicated to the divinities Among these are *Kāsi*, commonly called Benares The adjacent

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[1] Sacred rivers—An earlier list of names is given in Alberuni s *India* (Sachau s trans), i 257-262 Abul Fazl's transliteration of Sanskrit geographical names is even more puzzling than Alberuni's and any attempt to identify the doubtful names must be largely conjectural

Kausiki, evidently the Kosi in North Bihar, and therefore Abul F s location of it 'near Rhotas in the Panjab ' is incorrect , he probably confounded it with Rohtas in south Bihar, near which there is no sacred river Garhi is a parganā of Purnia (N Bihar) through which the Kosi flows ' A F s *Nandāvati*—Alberuni s *Nandanā*, A F s *Pārāvati*=Alberuni's *Parā* and *Pāvani*, probably the Pārvati river (a tributary of the Bias) in the Kāngra district, or a lesser river of the same name in Mālwa *Satyavati* of A F = *Sailodā* of Alberuni But Jarrett suggests that it is 'the same as the Kausiki, because Satyavati the mother of Jamadagni (the father of Parasurāma) became the Kausiki river ' On this view Abul F 's Kausiki cannot be the Kosi of North Bihar but the Kausikā, "one of the seven mouths of the Godāvari, branching off from the Gautami, near Mandapalle ' A F 's *Bāhadā*=Alberuni's *Bāhudāsa* (probably a mistake for the Mahānandā near Mālda or for the *Bhadrā*, which joins the Tungā in the Deccan) A F 's *Parna Sonā* stands for the *Son* river (the name of which means gold, *sonā*), Parnā being the old name of *Panna* (popularly called Jharnā-Parnā) through which State the Son flows For *Pāsāvati* (Alberuni's *Pisāvika*) I suggest the *Pampā-nadi* in Travancore, or more probably the Pampā lake near old Vijaynagar A F 's *Vanjara* is evidently a mistake for the *Manjarā* river, a tributary of the Godāvari For A F 's *Achamiyyā* I hazard the guess *Ujjainia* or the river of Ujjain, known as the *Siprā*, a very sacred water, which Alberuni gives under its proper name The *Tāmraparni* flows in the Tinnevelli district of Madras (J Sarkar)

country for five *kos* around the city is held sacred Although pilgrimages take place throughout the year, on the *Siva-rātri* multitudes resort thither from distant parts and it is considered one of the most chosen places in which to die Final liberation is said to be fourfold —(1) *Sālokya*,[2] passing from the degrees of paradise to Kailāsa They say that when a man goes to heaven through good works, he must return to earth, but when after various transmigrations, he attains that region, he returns no more (2). *Sārupya* (assimilation to the deity), when a man partakes of the divine elementary form, he does not revisit the earth (3) *Sāmipya* (nearness to the deity) is when a man after breaking the elemental bonds, by the power of good works is admitted into the presence of God's elect, and does not return to earth (4) *Sāyujya* (absorption into the deity), after passing through all intermediate stages, he obtains the bliss of true liberation They have likewise, divided the territory of Benares into four kinds The characteristic of two parts is that when a being dies therein, he attains the fourth degree of *Mukti*, if he dies in one of the others, he reaches the third degree, and if in the remaining one, the second degree

Ayodhyā, commonly called Awadh The distance of forty *kos* to the east, and twenty to the north is regarded as sacred ground On the ninth of the light half of the month of *Chaitra* a great religious festival is held [3]

Avantikā, Ujjain All around it for thirty-two *kos* is accounted holy and a large concourse takes place on the *Siva-rātri*

Kānchi (Conjevaram) in the Dekhan For twenty *kos* around it is considered sacred. On the eighth of every Hindu

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[2] I read *bihisht* for *hasht* *Sālokya* signifies being in the same heaven with any particular deity *Kailāsa* is the paradise of Siva placed according to their belief in the Himālaya range

[3] The anniversary of the birth of Rāma, *Rāma-navami*

month that falls on a Tuesday, there is a great concourse of pilgrims

Mathurā is sacred for forty-eight *kos* around, and even before it became the birthplace of Krishna, was held in veneration Religious festivals are held on the 23rd of the month of *Bhādra* (Aug -Sept) and the 15th of *Kārttika* (Oct -Nov)[4]

Dvārakā The country for forty *kos* in length and twenty in breadth is esteemed holy On the *Diwāli*[5] festival, crowds resort hither.

Māyā, known as Haridvāra (Hardwar) on the Ganges It is held sacred for eighteen *kos* in length Large numbers of pilgrims assemble on the 10th of *Chaitra*

These seven are called the seven (sacred) cities

Prayāga now called Illahābās The distance for twenty *kos* around is venerated They say that the desires of a man that dies here are gratified in his next birth They also hold that whoever commits suicide is guilty of a great crime except in this spot where it meets with exceeding reward Throughout the year it is considered holy, but especially so during the month of *Māgha* (Jan.-Feb)

Nagarkot[6] For eight *kos* round it is venerated On the eighth of the months of *Chaitra* and *Kārttika*, many pilgrims assemble

Kāshmir is also accounted of this class and is dedicated to Mahādeva Many places in it are held in great veneration

The second are the shrines of the Asuras, which are

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[4] The former is the anniversary of the birth of Krishna, i e, adding 15 days of the light half to 8 of the dark half, making it the 23rd day The second festival is connected with the legend of the Serpent Kāliyā See Vish Pur V 7

[5] *Dipāli* in Sansk , a row of lamps The day of the new moon in the month of *Kārttika*, on which there are nocturnal illuminations in honour of Kārttikeya, the god of war The night is often spent in gambling

[6] Kāngra See Vol II

temples dedicated to the Daitya race In many things they share the privileges of the *devatās*, but the latter are more pure, while the others are filled with the principle of *tamas* (darkness)[7] Their temples are said to be in the lower regions (Pātāla)

The third are called *Arsha*, or shrines of the great *Rishis*, men who by virtue of austerities and good works are in near proximity to the deity [180] Their shrines are counted by thousands Amongst them are Nimkhār (Nimishāra), Pukhra (Pushkara), Khushāb, and Baddiri[8]

The fourth are called *Mānusha*, or appertaining to men who by their power of good works are superior to mankind in general, though they do not obtain the rank of the third degree Their shrines also are numerous Among them is *Kurukshetra* which for forty *kos* around is considered holy, and numerous pilgrims resort thither during eclipses of the sun and moon

Ceremonies are laid down for each pilgrimage and their various meritorious results are declared

O THOU! that seekest after divine knowledge, learn wisdom of these Hindu legends! Each particle among created atoms is a sublime temple of worship May the Almighty deliver mankind from the wanderings of a vain imagination troubled over many things

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[7] 'Brahmā then, being desirous of creating the four orders of being termed gods demons progenitors, and men, collected his mind into itself whilst thus concentrated the quality of darkness pervaded his body and thence the demons (the Asuras) were first born, issuing from his thigh This form abandoned by him which embodied darkness became night, the quality of goodness then becoming embodied, from his mouth issued the gods, this form abandoned became day Thus the gods are powerful by day, the demons at night *Vish Pur* I 5

[8] *Nimkhār* (Sansk *Naimisha*) a town in the Sitapur district of Oudh *Pushkar* in the Ajmer dist, *Badrināth* in the Garhwāl dist Can *Khushāb* be a mistake for *Joshi* (math) in the Central Himalayas, which pilgrims to Badri-nāth also visit? [J S]

CUSTOMS OF MARRIAGE [9]

This is of eight kinds:—

1. *Brāhmya*. The girl's father with other elders of the family visit the bridegroom and bring him to his house where the relations assemble Then the grandfather, or brother, or any other male relation, or the mother, says before the company —"I have bestowed such and such a maiden upon such and such a man" The bridegroom in the presence of the same company gives his consent Certain incantations are then pronounced and the *Homa* sacrifice is performed It is then declared that the girl's mother has borne male children and was of smaller stature than her husband,[10] and that the bridegroom is not impotent, and both parties declare that they have not been subject to leprosy, phthisis, dyspepsia, hemorrhoids, piles, chronic issue of blood, deformity of limb, or epilepsy At the nuptials an attendant of the bride washes the feet of the bride and bridegroom and draws the sectarial marks upon them Three vessels filled severally with rice and curds, after certain incantations have been pronounced, are then given to them to eat When this is concluded they are dressed out and taken to a retired chamber and a curtain is hung between the bride and bridegroom The father takes each of the young people and turns them facing the east and

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[9] For Hindu marriages, see Hastings, viii 449-454

[10] I do not find this condition It might possibly mean inferior in caste but in that sense Abul Fazl uses *sāfl* Manu requires a bridegroom to avoid the ten following families whatever their wealth in gold or kine, *viz*, the family which has omitted prescribed acts of religion, that which has produced no male children, that in which the Veda has not been read, that which has thick hair on the body and those subject to hemorrhoids, phthisis, dyspepsia, epilepsy, leprosy and albinoism, also a girl with reddish hair, a deformed limb, troubled with habitual sickness and one with no hair or too much, and immoderately talkative and with inflamed eyes She must not bear the name of a constellation, of a tree, of a river, of a barbarous nation, of a mountain, of a winged creature, a snake, or a slave She must have no defect, walk like a goose or an elephant, have hair and teeth of moderate quantity and length and have exquisite softness of person M III 7, 8, 9 10

a Brāhman repeats certain prayers and places in the hand of each some rice and five betel-nuts The curtain is then removed and they present to each other what they hold in their hands The Brāhman next places the two hands of the bride in those of the bridegroom and repeats certain prayers and then reverses the ceremony, after which he binds them both with loose-spun cotton thread, and the girl's father taking [P 181] her hand gives her to the bridegroom and says 'May there be ever participation between you and this nursling of happiness in three things—in good works, in worldly goods, and tranquillity of life ' Finally, a fire is lit and the pair are led round it seven times,[11] and the marriage is completed Until this is done, the engagement may be lawfully cancelled

2 *Daiva* (of the Devas) At the time of a sacrifice, all is given away in alms and a maiden is bestowed on the Brāhman performing the sacrifice The betrothal is then made and the other ceremonies are conducted as aforesaid

3 *Arsha* (of the Rishis) This rite takes place when a pair of kine have been received from the bridegroom

4 *Prājāpatya*[12] (of the Prajāpatis) The man and woman are brought together and united by this bond

5 *Asura* (of the Asuras) The maiden is received in marriage after as much wealth has been presented to her kinsmen (as the suitor can afford) [13]

6 *Gāndharva* (of the Gāndharvas) The pair enter-

[11] Properly in seven steps The marriage is not completed till the seventh step is taken Manu, VIII 227, and note Hopkins

[12] 'The gift of the maiden is called the Prājāpatya rite (when made) after reverencing and addressing (the pair) with the words, 'together do ye both your duty ' " *Ibid.* 30 The Arsha rite is the commonest form now Burnell

[13] A recognised sale is here meant This form is practised at the present day by people claiming to be Brāhmans, *e.g.*, the Saiva Brāhmans called Gurukkal in Southern India, who seldom can get wives for less than a thousand rupees It often happens that low caste girls are palmed off upon them Manu, III 31, n 2

tain a mutual affection and are voluntarily united in wedlock without the knowledge of others

7 *Rākshasa* (of the Rākshasas), is the forcible seizure and abduction of a girl from her people by the ravisher to his own house and there marrying her

8 *Paisācha* (of the Pisāchas) This rite receives this name when the lover secretly approaches a girl when asleep or intoxicated or disordered in mind

Everywhere there is some difference in the preliminary betrothals, but the concluding ceremonies are after the manner above described The four rites are lawful for a Brāhman, and besides the second, all are within his privilege The fifth is lawful to Vaisya or a Sudra, the sixth and seventh for a Kshatriya The eighth is held disgraceful by all

A dower is not mentioned in the case of Brāhmans, and divorce is not customary In the former ages of the world, it was the rule for Bāhmans to take wives from among all the castes, while the other three castes considered it unlawful to wed a Brāhman woman The same practice obtained between all superior and inferior castes reciprocally In the present *Kali Yuga* no one chooses a wife out of his own caste, nay, each of these four being subdivided into various branches, each subdivision asks in marriage only the daughters of their own equals

Although there are numberous classes of Brāhmans, the noblest by descent are from the (seven) Rishis, Kāsyapa, Atri, Bharadvāja, Visvā-mitra, Gotāma, Angiras, and Pulastya [14] Each of these has numerous ramifications [P. 182] When any member of one of these families attains to any worldly and spiritual eminence and becomes the founder of any class of institutes, his posterity are called by his name The family

[12] The *Satapatha Brāhmana*, and the *Mahābhārata* differ a little from the text and from each other, in Manu they are reckoned as ten The seven Rishis form in Astronomy, the Great Bear Monier Williams, S D

caste of each is called *Kula* (Hindi *kul*) or *gotra*,[15] (Hindi *gotar*), and the rule is that if a youth and maid be of the same *gotra*, however distant be the relationship, their marriage is unlawful, but if one be of a separate *kula*, they may lawfully marry. Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras are dependent for their marriage ceremony on a family priest (*purohita*), and each class has a special Brāhman from one of the seven lines of descent If the maid and the youth have their several family priests belonging to the same *kula*, their marriage is held unlawful When united in marriage, the wife leaves her own *gotra* and enters that of her husband

When the betrothal is first proposed the lines of paternal and maternal ancestry of both the woman and the man are scrutinised In computing either of the two genealogies, if within each fifth degree of ascent the lines unite, the marriage is not lawful Also if in the two paternal genealogies, they unite in any generation, the marriage cannot take place Scrutiny of the maternal descent on both sides is not necessary If in the paternal genealogies of both parties, consanguinity through a female occurs in the eighth generation, it is held lawful, but if in the paternal lines of both, consanguinity through a female occurs in the sixth generation it constitutes a fresh (impediment of) kinship The same result occurs if the consanguinity occurs in the sixth generation by the mother's side

Until the elder brother is married, the younger may not lawfully be so

It is held expedient that the bride should not be under eight,[16] and any age over ten is thought improper The man

[15] Among the Brāhmans, twenty-four *gotras* are reckoned, supposed to be sprung from and named after celebrated teachers, as Sāndilya, Kāsyapa, Gautama, Bharad-vāja, &c *Ibid*

[16] "A man aged thirty years, may marry a girl of twelve, if he find one dear to his heart, or a man of twenty-four years, a damsel of eight , but if he should finish his studentship earlier and the duties of his next order would otherwise be impeded, let him marry immediately " M IX, 94 Sir W Jones

should be twenty-five, and marriage after fifty years of age, they regard as unbecoming Excepting in the king, it is not considered right for a man to have more than one wife, unless his first wife is sickly or proves barren, or her children die In these cases, he may marry ten wives, but if the tenth proves defective, he may not marry again If his first wife is suitable, and he desires to take another, he must give the first a third part of his estate.

It was the custom in ancient times for the daughters of kings when they sought a husband, to hold a great festival Her suitors were assembled together and the damsel attended the banquet in person Of whomsoever she made choice, she placed upon his neck a string of pearls and flowers [183] This custom was called *Svayamvara,* or self-choice [17]

Quando mulier mensium suorum expers sit quod post quatriduum contingit, si maritus ejus intra duodecim dies proximos in quibus satis probabile est conceptus, ineat eam, necesse est illi perlutum esse In reliquis temporibus dissimilis est ratio et manus pedesque lavare satis esse censeant Per totum tempus mensium coitum in crimine ponunt In diebus his, vivit mulier in secessu, neque cibum mariti nec vestimenta tangit neque ad culinam accedit ne contaminet eam

SRINGARA,

or

Ornaments of Dress

A man is adorned by twelve things —(1) Trimming his beard (2) Ablution of his body (3) Drawing the

[17] An instance occurs, among many, in the well-known epic of Nala and Damayanti The practice is conceded in Manu (IX 92) but as Hopkins observes, only out of respect for the old custom and was not practised at that date Yājnavalkya and others permit it when there are no relatives to give away the girl in marriage Some early writers conceded it without distinction of caste in the epic it is confined to royal maidens among later commentators it is restricted to the lower castes

sectarial marks of caste (4) Anointing with perfumes and oil (5) Wearing gold earrings (6) Wearing the *jāma*[18] fastened on the left side (7) Bearing the *mukuta* which is a golden tiara worn on the turban (8) Wearing a sword (9). Carrying a dagger and the like, at the waist (10) Wearing a ring on the finger (11) Eating betel (12) Wearing sandals or shoes

A woman is adorned by sixteen things —(1). Bathing (2) Anointing with oil (3) Braiding the hair (4) Decking the crown of her head with jewels (5) Anointing with sandal-wood unguent (6) The wearing of dresses and these are of various kinds The sleeves of some reach to the fingers, of others to the elbows A jacket without a skirt called *angiyā* (Sansk *angikā*) was chiefly worn, and instead of drawers, a *lahangā* which is a waist-cloth joined at both ends with a band sewn at the top through which the cord passes for fastening It is also made in other forms Others wear the *dandiyā* which is a large sheet worn over the *lahangā*, part of which is drawn over the head and the other end fastened at the waist These three garments are of necessity The wealthy wear other garments over this Some wear the veil[19] and *pāe-jāmas* (7) Sectarial marks of caste, and often decked with pearls and golden ornaments (8) Tinting with lamp-black like collyrium (9) Wearing ear-rings (10) Adorning with nose-rings of pearls and gold (11) Wearing ornaments round the neck. (12) Decking with garlands of flowers or pearls (13) Staining the hands (14) Wearing a belt hung with small bells (15) Decorat-

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[18] The *jāma* is described in the dictionaries as being a long gown from eleven to thirty breadths in the skirt, folded into many plaits in the upper part and double breasted on the body and tied in two places on each side

[19] In the text, *m'ajar* which I conceive corresponds to the Hindi, *orhani*—the sheet or mantle covering the head and upper part of the body

ing the feet with gold ornaments (16) Eating *pān* Finally blandishments and artfulness. [P 184]

JEWELS

These are of many kinds[20] —(1) The *Sis-phul,* an ornament for the head resembling the marigold (2) *Māng,* worn on the parting of the hair to add to its beauty (3) *Kot-bilādar,* worn on the forehead consisting of five bands and a long centre-drop (4) *Sekra,* seven or more strings of pearls linked to studs and hung from the forehead in such a manner as to conceal the face It is chiefly worn at marriages and births (5) *Binduli,* smaller than a (gold) *muhār* and worn on the forehead (6) *Khuntilā,* a earring tapering in shape (7) *Karnphul* (ear-flower), shaped like the flower of the *Magrela,*[21] a decoration for the ear (8) *Durbachh,* a earring (9) *Pipal-patti,* (*Pipal*-leaf) crescent-shaped, eight or nine being worn in each ear (10) *Bāli,* a circlet with a pearl worn in the ear (11) *Champakali,* smaller than the red rose, and worn on the shell of the ear (12) *Mor-Bhanwar,* shaped like a peacock, a ear-pendant (13) *Besar* is a broad piece of gold to the upper ends of which a pearl is attached and at the other a golden wire which is clasped on to the pearl and hung from the nose by gold wire (14) *Phuli* is like a bud, the stalk of which is attached to

[20] I refer the reader for an explanation of these ornaments to the Persian text of the 1st Vol of the Ain-i-Akbari which contains in the pages succeeding the preface, plates of the jewels here mentioned and a descriptive catalogue of the whole series

[21] Dr King Superintendent, Royal Botanical Gardens, whose invaluable aid is never withheld and never at fault, on my reference to him informs me that, this is the *Nigella sativa* sometimes called the *N Indica,* and is not a native of Hindustan, but domesticated The seeds are largely used in cookery, and in Bengal are named *Kala jira* or black Cumin-seed" The flower has a calyx of delicate fibres dishevelled in appearance and is commonly known as "Love-in-mist" From the specimen Dr King has been good enough to send me, the ornament imitates the appearance admirably

the nose (15) *Laung*, an ornament for the nose in the shape of a clove (16) *Nath* is a golden circlet with a ruby between two pearls, or other jewels It is worn in the nostril (17) *Guluband* consists of five or seven rose-shaped buttons of gold strung on to silk and worn round the neck (18) *Hār* is a necklace of strings of pearls inter-connected by golden roses (19) *Hāns* is a necklace (20) *Kangan* is a bracelet [185] (21) *Gajrah*, a bracelet made of gold and pearls (22) *Jawe*, consisting of five golden barley-corns (*jau*) strung on silk and fastened on each wrist (23) *Chur*, (a bracelet) worn above the wrist (24) *Bāhu* is like the *chur* but a little smaller (25) *Churin*, a little thinner than the (ordinary) bracelet Some seven are worn together (26) *Bāzuband*, (armlet), of these there are various kinds (27) *Tād*, a hollow circle worn on the arm (28) *Anguthi*, finger ring Various forms are made (29) *Chhudr-Khantikā*, golden bells strung on gold wire and twisted round the waist (30) *Kati-mekhlā*, a golden belt, highly decorative (31) *Jehar*, three gold rings, as ankle-ornaments The first is called *Churā*, consisting of two hollow half-circlets which when joined together form a complete ring The second is called *dundhani*, and resembles the former only engraved somewhat The third is called *masuchi* and is like the second but differently engraved (32) *Pail*, the anklet, called *Khalkhāl* (in Arabic) (34) *Ghunghru*, small golden bells, six on each ankle strung upon silk and worn between the *Jehar* and *Khalkhāl* (35) *Bhānk*, an ornament for the instep, triangular and square (36) *Bichhwah*, an ornament for the instep shaped like half a bell (37) *Anwat*, an ornament for the great toe

All these ornaments are made either plain or studded with jewels, and are of many styles What words can express the exquisite workmanship of the trade? Their delicacy and skill is such that the cost of the work is ten *tolahs* for each *tolah* of gold Her Majesty has suggested

new patterns in each kind A few of these have been represented in plates for illustration [P 186]

WORKMEN IN DECORATIVE ART

In other countries the jewels are secured in the sockets made for them, with lac, but in Hindustan, it is effected with *kundan* which is gold made so pure and ductile that the fable of the gold of Parviz which he could mould with his hand becomes credible [22]

The mode of preparation is as follows —Of a *māsha* of gold they draw out a wire eight fingers long and one finger in breadth. Then the wire is coated with a mixture of two parts of the ashes of dried field-cowdung[23] and one part of Sāmbhar salt, after which it is wrapped in a coarse cloth and covered with clay This is generally of not more than ten *tolahs* weight, and it is placed in a fire of four *sers* of cow-dung which is then suffered to cool down If there is but little alloy in it, it will become of standard fineness after three fires, otherwise it must be coated with the same mixture and passed through three more fires It is generally found that three coatings and three fires are sufficient for the purpose It must then be washed and placed in an earthen vessel filled with limejuice or some other (acid) which is heated to boiling It is then cleaned and wound round a cane and taken off (when required), and re-heated from time

[22] This was one of the seven unequalled treasures possessed by Khusrau Parviz It was said to be a piece of gold that might be held in the hand and as ductile as wax The others were his throne *Tāghdis* , his treasure called the *Bādāvard*, or wind-borne, because being conveyed by sea to the Roman emperor, the vessel was cast upon his shores , his horse *shabdiz* , his minstrel *Bārbud* his minister *Shāhpur*, and above all his incomparable wife *Shirin*.

[23] *Sargin gāo sahrāi* is translated by Blochmann (I 21) incorrectly the dry dung of the *wild cow*. It merely means the cowdung picked up in the fields and jungles , in Hindi *pāchak* and *kanda*

Sāmbhar, the well-known great salt-lake in the States of Jaipur and Jodhpur

to time, and used for setting by means of an iron style and so adheres that it will not become detached for a long period of time At first the ornament is fashioned quite plain and here and there they leave sockets for the setting of the jewels These sockets are filled with lac and a little of the gold is inserted above it, and on this the jewel is pressed down The overflow of the lac is scraped off and it is then weighed They next cover the lac with the *kundan* by means of a needle, and finally scrape and polish it with a steel-pointed tool

The fee of a skilled artificer for this work is sixty-four *dams* on each *tolah*

The *Zarnishan* or gold inlayer, is a workman who cuts silver agate, crystal and other gems in various ways and sets them on gold He inlays silver and steel with lines of gold and embellishes agates and other stones by engraving and cutting them On steel and gems, if he uses one *tolah* of gold, he receives one and a half as his charge, if he inlays on ivory, fish-bone, tortoise-shell, rhinoceros-horn or silver, his charge for every *tolah* of gold is one *tolah* of the same

The *Koftgar* or gold-beater, inlays on steel and other metals, markings more delicate than the teeth of a file, and damascenes with gold and silver wire He receives one hundred *dāms* for each *tolah* of gold and sixty for a *tolah* of silver His work is principally on weapons

The *Mināķār* or enameller, works on cups, flagons, rings and other articles with gold and silver He polishes his delicate enamels separately on various colours, sets them in their suitable places and puts them to the fire This is done several times His charge is sixteen *dāms* for each *tolah* of gold, and seven for a *tolah* of silver

The *Sādah-ķār*, a plain goldsmith, fashions gold-work and other articles [187] of gold and silver His charge is five and a half *dāms* or every *tolah* of gold and two for every *tolah* of silver,

The *Shabakah-kār*[24] executes pierced-work in ornaments and vessels His charge is double that of the *Sādah-kār*

The *Munabbat-kār* works plain figures or impressions on a gold ground, so that they appear in relief His charge is ten *dāms* for a *tolah* of gold and four for a *tolah* of silver

The *Charm-kār*[25] incrusts granulations of gold and silver like poppy-seeds on ornaments and vessels For every *tolah* weight of golden grains his charge is one rupee, and half of this for silver

The *Sim-bāf* or plaiter of silver, draws out gold and silver wire and plaits them into belts for swords, daggers and the like He receives twenty-four *dāms* on a *tolah* of gold and sixteen for a *tolah* of silver

The *Sawād-kār* grinds a black composition (*sawād*) and lays it smoothly over traceries of gold and then polishes the ground evenly with a file The *sawād* consists of gold, silver, copper, lead and sulphur mixed together in certain proportions The work is of several kinds The finest is on gold and the charge is two rupees per *tolah* of *sawād* For the midddling kind, the charge is one rupee, and for the lowest, eight annas

The *Zar-kob* or gold beater, makes gold and silver leaf

Lapidaries, metal casters, and other artificers produce designs which excite astonishment, but this exposition is already sufficiently protracted Artists of all kinds are constantly employed at the Imperial Court where their work is subjected to the test of criticism [P 188]

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[24] From the Arabic *Shabakat*, a fishing net, a lattice, i e., any reticulated work *Munabbat* comes from the Arabic root '*nabt*' and is pass part of II conj, to cause to grow out' hence repousse-work

[25] *Charm* signifies leather and the granulated kind of it called *kimukht* or shagreen (from the Pers *Sāghari*) would represent the style of work which the text refers to The granulation of the shagreen is produced by embedding in the leather when it is soft, the seeds of a kind of chenopodium and afterwards shaving down the surface The green colour is produced by the action of salammoniac on copper filings

CEREMONIES AT CHILDBIRTH

As soon as a child is born, the father bathes himself in cold water, worships the deities and performs the *Srāddha* ceremonies, and stirring some honey and ghee together with a gold ring, puts it into the infant's mouth. The midwife then cuts the umbilical cord, and immediately upon its severance the whole family become unclean. In this state they refrain from the *Homa* sacrifice and the worship of the deities and from repeating the *gāyatri* and many other ceremonies, contenting themselves with interior remembrance of the Deity. If this takes place in a Brāhman's family, his children and relations to the fourth degree of consanguinity are ceremonially unclean for ten days; the relations of the fifth degree, for six days; those of the sixth degree for four days; of the seventh, for three; of the eighth for one day and night and those of the ninth continue so for four *pahrs*.

At the close of these periods they are freed after ablution of the body. But the usual rule is that a Brāhman together with his kindred to the seventh degree, are unclean for ten days; a Kshatriya, for twelve days; a Vaisya and the superior[a] class of Sudra for fifteen days, and the inferior Sudras for thirty days. During this time strangers avoid associating or eating with them. This state is called *Sutaka* (impurity from childbirth). A prince and his attendants, his physician, cook, overseer, and other servants of the crown are not subjected to this condition, but on the sixth day certain prayers are offered to the Deity and rejoicings are made, and the mother and child are bathed.

The day after the expiration of the *Sutaka*, they name the child and look in the astronomical table for the sign and station of the rising of the moon. The initial of his name is

[a] By these are meant the *Ahir* and *Kurmi* castes or shepherds and agriculturists from whose hands Brāhmans and Kshatriyas will drink; the inferior Sudras being *Chamārs* and the like who are held unclean.

taken from the letter which is therewith connected[27] and a name of more than four letters is considered blameworthy In the fourth month they bring it into the sun before which time it is never carried out of the house In the fifth month they bore the lobe of the right ear In the sixth month, if the child be a boy, they place various kinds of food around him, and feed him with that for which he shows a preference If it be a girl, this is not done till the sixth or seventh month When it is a year old, or in the third year, they shave his head, but by some this is delayed till the fifth year, by others till the seventh, and by others again till the eighth year, when a festival is held In the fifth year they send him to school and meet together in rejoicing

They observe the birthday and annually celebrate it with a feast, and at the close of each year make a knot on a thread of silk He is invested with the sacred string at the appointed time At each of these occasions they perform certain works and go through some extraordinary ceremonies

The number of Festivals

Certain auspicious days are religiously observed and celebrated as festivals These are called *te'ohār* and a few of them are here indicated

[27] This requires explanation The day is divided into 60 *dandas*=24 hours the four divisions of which allow 15 *dandas* to every six hours Now each of the 28 asterisms (v p 21) is symbolised by a fanciful name of four letters e g , the first asterism *Asvini* is called *chu*, *che*, *cho*, *lā*, the second *Bharani lo*, *lu*, *le*, *lā*. To each of the periods of six hours a letter is allotted, as *chu* from 6 A M to noon, *che* from noon to 6 P.M , *cho* from 6 P M. to midnight, and *lā* from midnight to 6 A M A child born in the first period has a name beginning with *chu*, as Churāmani in the second with *che*, as *Chet-Ram*, and so on This is termed the *rāsi* name from Sanskrit *rāsi*, the passage of any planet through a sign of the Zodiac A second name is subsequently given when the child is two or three, at the fancy of the parents without any ceremonial observance Thus a man's *rāsi* name will be Panna Lāl, and the name by which he is generally called, Dāmodar This practice is mostly confined to the more cultivated classes

During the month of *Chaitra* (March-April, Hind *Chait*) eight occur —[P 189] (1) *Srishtyādi*,[28] the first lunar day of the light half of the month (2) *Nava-rātra* (Hind *Nau-rātr*), the nine first nights of the year are chiefly employed in ceremonial worship and prayer and pilgrims from afar assemble at Nagarkot (Kangra) and other places dedicated to the worship of Durga (3) *Sri-panchami*, the fifth lunar day (of the light half of the month) (4) *Asokashtami*,[29] the eighth of the light half of the month (5) *Rāma-navami*, ninth day of the light half of the month, the birthday of Rama (6) *Chaturdasa* (Hind *Chaudas*) the fourteenth (7) *Purna-masa* (Hind *Purnamāsi*) the fifteenth (8) *Pariwā* (Sansk *Pratipada*) the sixteenth calculating from the *Sukla-paksha* or light fortnight, or counting from *Krishna-paksha* (dark fortnight), the 1st, and according to the computation by which the beginning of the month is taken from *Krishna-paksha*, this day will fall in the beginning of the second month which is *Vaisākha* Therefore with those who hold this view, the festival will occur on the 1st of *Krishna-paksha* which preceded the aforesaid *Sukla-paksha*,[30] and so with all the festivals that fall in *Krishna-paksha* the difference of a month one way or the other arises between the two methods of calculation

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[28] The transliteration is incorrect The luni-solar year of Vikramāditya begins from this festival

[29] *Asoka* is the tree Jonesia Asoka which is held sacred In a grove of these trees Sita, the wife of Rāma was imprisoned in Lanka by Ravana *Ramāyana* Sundar Kānda

[30] *Cf* p 17 Vol II The two modes of reckoning *viz*, by the *mukhya chāndra* or principal lunar month which ends with the conjunction and the *gauna-chāndra* or secondary lunar month, which ends with the opposition are both authorized by the Purānas The latter mode begins the month with the *Krishna-paksha* or dark half of the month in which differences of reckoning occur, the *Sukla-paksha* or light half from which the *mukhya chāndr* reckoning begins is the same of course for both modes, and therefore no difference can arise *Cf* Sir W Jones Lunar months of the Hindus *Works* I 374

During *Vaisākha* (April-May) there are four —(1) *Tij* (Sansk *Tritiya*), during the third lunar day of the light fortnight, the birthday of Parasurāma (2) *Saptami*, the seventh (3) *Chaturdasi*, the fourteenth, the birthday of Nara-Sinha (4) *Amāvasa*, the thirtieth

During the month of *Jycshtha* (Hind *Jeth*, May-June), there are three —(1) *Chaturthi*, the fourth lunar day (2) *Navami*, the ninth (3) *Dasami*, the tenth which is called *Dasa-harā* [31]

[190] In the month of *Ashādha* (Hind *Asārh*, June-July), the seventh, eighth and eleventh, and according to some the fifteenth [32]

In the month of *Srāvana* (Hind *Sawan*, July-Aug) three —(1) *Purnamāsa*, the fifteenth of the light half of the month This is the greatest festival with the Brāhmans throughout the year upon which they fasten the amulet called *raksha-bandhana* on the right wrists of the principal people It is a cord of silk and the like, decorated by some with jewels and pearls (2) (*Nāga-panchami*)[33] the fifth of the light fortnight

In the month of *Bhādra-pada* (Hind *Bhādon*, Aug - Sept) there are five, the fourth, fifth, sixth, twelfth, and

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[31] Vulg *Dusserah* There are two festivals *viz* that in the text, which is the birthday of Ganga in which whoever bathes in the Ganges is said to be purified from ten sorts of sins, and the second on the 10th of Asvin *Sukla-paksha* (Hind *Kuār*, Sept -Oct) in honour of Durga This worship continues for nine nights, and images of Devi are thrown into the river Rama is said to have marched against Ravana on this day and hence it is called *Vijay-dasami* or the Victorious Tenth It is held as a most auspicious day for all undertakings and especially for operations of war

[32] This is called the Vyāsa-puja, in honour of *Vyāsa* the *divider* of the Vedas He is supposed to be represented on this festival by the teachers or *gurus*

[33] Abul Fazl has omitted the name A snake is worshipped on this day to preserve children from their bites The text also omits altogether the third festival, the *Srāvani*, held by Brāhmans only, spent in reading the Vedas and bathing, and changing the sacred thread

twenty-third The latter is the birthday of Krishna Some hold this to be on the eighth of (the dark half of) Srāvana [34]

In the month of *Asvin* there are two As aforesaid (in the month of *Chaitra*) nine nights are accounted holy and the tenth (of the light fortnight) is called *Dasa-harā* According to their writings the festival previously mentioned is called *Dasa-hara* and this is known as the *Vijay-dasami* On this day they pay particular attention to their horses and decorate them and place green sprouts of barley on their heads, and all workmen venerate their tools and it is held as a great festival and particularly for the Kshatriyas (Another) they call *Sraddha-Kanya-gata*[35] on the fifteenth of *Krishna-paksha* of the month of Asvin by common consent, but those who compute the beginning of the month from its *Krishna-paksha* place it in the month preceding During these fifteen days (of the dark fortnight) they give alms in the name of their deceased ancestors, either in money or kind, as has been related

In the month of *Kārttika* (Oct -Nov) there are six The 1st or *parivā* This is called *Balirājya* or the principality of Bali [36] On this day they deck themselves and their cattle and buffaloes

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[34] That is with those who take the beginning of the month from *Krishna paksha* of Sravana or Bhādra-pada it will fall on the 8th with those who begin with the following *Sukla-paksha* of Bhādra pada it will fall on the 23rd of Bhādra-Asvin making the difference of the month as before stated The festival of the fourth is called *Ganesha-chaturthi* the birthday of Ganesha The fifth is *Rishi panchami* a fast in honour of the Rishis The sixth is called *Lalita Shashthi* and in Hindi *Lalhi chhat* and also *Gayhat* as Albiruni observes (XVI) In Kanauj it is known by the latter name

[35] *Kanyā-gata* is the dark lunar fortnight of this month and the name and period mark the position of a planet escpecially Jupiter in the sign Virgo (*Kanyā*)

[36] This is the name of the Daitya prince whom Vishnu subdued in the dwarf incarnation A great deal of gambling goes on for three nights They give alms and bathe and make presents of areca nuts to each other It is said that Lakshmi wife of Vasudeva once a year on this day liberates Bali from the nether world and allows him to go about the earth *Cf* Albiruni

The second, ninth, eleventh and twelfth are also festivals The thirtieth is the *Dipāli* or row of lamps (Hind *Diwāli*) A difference occurs in the calculation of its date According to the *Sukla-paksha* computation, it is as above stated, but by the *Krishna-paksha* this is called the 15th of *Mārgasirsha* (Hind *Aghan*, Nov -Dec) and they therefore hold this festival on the 15th of the *Krishna-paksha* of *Kārttika* Lamps are lit as on the (Muhammedan) festival of *Shab-i barāt* It begins on the 29th, and this night is considered auspicious for dicing and many strange traditions are told regarding it It is the greatest of the festivals for the Vaisya caste

In the month of *Mārgasirsha* there are three *viz* , the seventh of *Sukla-paksha* and the eighth and ninth of *Krishna-paksha* In both these last a difference of computation as above occurs

In the month of *Pausha* (Hind *Pus*, Dec -Jan) the eighth of *Sukla-paksha* is held sacred

In the month of *Māgha* (Jan -Feb) there are four, *viz* , the third, [191] fourth, fifth and seventh On the fifth a great festival is held called *Vasanta* in which they throw different coloured powders upon each other, and sing songs

This is the beginning of the spring among the Hindus Although this is much regarded among the people, yet in old works the seventh was considered the greater festival

In the month of *Phālguna* (Feb -March) there are two The fifteenth of *Sukla-paksha* is called the *Holi*[17] and extends from the 13th to the 17th They light fires and throw various articles into them and fling coloured powder upon each other

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[17] 'Holikā' is said to be the name of a female *Rākshasi*, killed and burnt by Siva on this day, but her penitence for the fault of a too turbulent disposition secured for her the promise of this annual celebration in her remembrance, and that all who perform this worship, in this month, would be prosperous for the year See *Māhātmya* of *Phālguna*, which quotes the *Bhavishya Purana* Songs are sung in honour of Krishna of the broadest and coarsest kind

and indulge in much merriment. It is a great festival among the Sudras. The night and day of the 29th are held sacred: the night is called *Siva-rātri*. Some make this occur on the 14th of *Krishna-paksha* and by this computation the *Siva-rātri* falls on the 14th of the dark fortnight of *Phālguna*,[38] a month earlier. They keep the night in vigil, narrating wonderful legends. The Brāhmans also consider five days in each month sacred, the 8th, 14th, 15th and 30th, and *Sankrānti* which is the day on which the sun passes from one Zodiacal sign into another.

Regarding the celebration of the various festivals marvellous legends are told, and they are the subject of entertaining narratives.

Ceremonies at Death

When a person is near unto death, they take him off his bed and lay him on the ground and shave his head, except in the case of a married woman, and wash the body. The Brāhmans read some prayers over him and alms are given. They then plaster the ground with cowdung and strew it over with green grass and lay him down at full length face upwards, with his head to the north and his feet to the south. If a river or tank be hard by, they place him up to his middle in water. When his dissolution is at hand they put into his mouth Ganges water, gold, ruby, diamond and pearl and give away a cow in charity, and place upon his breast a leaf of the *Tulasi* (Ocymum sanctum) which they hold sacred, and draw the sectarial mark on his forehead with a particular kind of earth.[39]

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[38] V. p. 298 n. 2. It is mentioned in some Dictionaries as occurring on the 14th of the dark half of *Māgha*, but this is also counted as *Phālguna* by those who begin the month with the *Krishna-paksha*, the same fortnight being either one or the other, according to the order of the primary or secondary lunar months.

[39] This is either earth taken from the banks of the Ganges if possible, or ashes from the *Homa* fire.

When he expires, his youngest son,[40] his brother, and his pupil and particular friends shave their heads and beards Some defer this till the tenth day The body dressed in its loin-cloth is wrapped in a sheet The corpse of a married woman is dressed in the clothes she wore in life The body is borne to the river side and a funeral pile of *Palāsa*-wood (Butea frondosa) is formed, upon which the body is laid Prayers are read over ghee, which is put into the mouth and a few grains of gold are put into the eyes, nostrils, ears and other apertures It is advisable that the son should set fire to the pile, otherwise the youngest brother of the deceased or, failing him, the eldest All his wives deck themselves out and with cheerful countenances are burnt together with him in their embrace A pile of lignum aloes and sandal-wood is fired for those who are wealthy The wives are first advised not to give their bodies to the flames [P 192]

This mode of expressing grief among Hindu women applies to five classes —(1) Those who expire on learning the death of their husbands and are burnt by their relations (2) Those who out of affection for their husbands voluntarily consign themselves to the flames (3) Who from fear of reproach surrender themselves to be burnt (4) Who undergo this death regarding it as sanctioned by custom (5) Who against their will are forced into the fire by their relatives

If an ascetic (*Sannyāsin*) dies or a child that has not yet teethed, the body is consigned to earth or launched into the river, and they do not burn those who disbelieve the *Vedas* or who are not bound by the rules of any of the four castes, nor a thief, nor a woman who has murdered her husband nor an evil liver, nor a drunkard

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[40] The ceremonies of cremation are under the authority of the youngest son, and in his absence, of the eldest The intervening sons have generally no ceremonial powers For *Sati* see Hastings *Encyclo* iv 428-429, xi 207 and its later history in Edward Thompson's *Sati*

If the corpse cannot be found, an effigy of it is made with flour and leaves of the *Butea frondosa* and reeds covered with deer-skin, a cocoanut serving for the head Over this prayers are said and it is then burnt

A pregnant woman is not suffered to be burnt till after her delivery If the man dies on a journey, his wives burn themselves with his garments or whatever else may belong to him Some women whom their relations have dissuaded from burning themselves, or whom their good sense has convinced that burning is a fictitious grief, live afterwards in such unhappiness that death becomes preferable

On the day on which the corpse is burnt, the relations and friends repair to the riverside and undo their hair, put on the sacred string across the other shoulder, and bathe themselves and place two handfuls of sesame-seed on the bank They then collect in any open space and the friends of the deceased after a consolatory address to the mourners, accompany them home the younger members of the family walking in front and the elders following When they reach the door of the house they chew a bit of Nimba leaf (Hind *Nim*, *Melia Azadirachta*) and then enter

On the fourth day after the death of a Brāhman the fifth after the death of a Kshatriya, the ninth and tenth after that of a Vaisya and Sudra respectively, the person who had set fire to the funeral pile, proceeds to the place, performs some ceremonies, and collecting the ashes and remnants of bones together, throws them into the Ganges If the river be at any distance, he places them in a vessel and buries them in the jungle, and, at a convenient time, exhumes them puts them into a bag of deer-skin and conveys them to the stream, and concludes with certain ceremonies

If the deceased is a Brāhman, all his relations for ten days sleep on the ground on a bed of grass and eat only what is sent to them, or what may be procured from the market (cooking nothing for themselves)

During ten days, the person who had fired the pile cooks some rice and milk and makes an offering of it as nourishment to the new body of the deceased When the natural body dies, the soul takes a subtle frame which they call *Preta* [41] Their belief is that while it is invested with this body, it cannot enter Paradise, and during the space of ten days this body continues in being Subsequently, on the conclusion of certain ceremonies, it abandons this form and assumes another fitted for Paradise, and by the performance of manifold works, it finally receives its heavenly body For other castes the time of detention (in the *Preta*) continues throughout their respective *Sutaka* periods

Some further ceremonies for Brāhmans and others take place on the eleventh and twelfth days also [P 193]

If a Brāhman dies out of his own house and information of his death is received within ten days of it, his family during the remaining period of those days, continue unclean If the news arrives after the ten days, they are unclean for three days, but his son, at whatever time he hears of it, is unclean for ten days If the death take place before investiture with the sacred string, or (if a child) before it has teethed, or is of seven months, the impurity lasts one day, and is removed by bathing If the deceased child be above this age up to two years old, the impurity lasts one day and night, from the time of cutting the hair to that of investiture with the sacred thread, three days and nights For the death of a daughter up to ten years of age, ablution suffices to purify After that age till the time of proposal when she is betrothed before marriage, there is one day's impurity After betrothal, the father's family and that of the suitor are unclean for three days.

[41] This is properly the spirit of the deceased before the obsequial rites are performed and is supposed still to haunt its abode Hastings, *Ency* ii 810

MERITORIOUS MANNER OF DEATH

The most efficacious kinds of death are five —(1) Abstaining from food and drink till dissolution (2) Covering the person with broken dried cowdung like a quilt or pall, and at the feet setting it on fire which creeps gradually from the toe-nails to the hair of the head, while the mind is fixed on divine contemplation till death (3) Voluntarily plunging into snow (4) At the extremity of Bengal where the Ganges divided into a thousand channels falls into the sea, the foe of his carnal desires wades into the sea, and confessing his sins and supplicating the Supreme Being, waits till the alligators come and devour him (5) Cutting the throat at Illahabās at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna

Each of these modes is described with its appropriate details

CHAPTER X

COMERS INTO INDIA

For asmuch as the fenced city of tradition is unfrequented and the wastes of legend are stony places, knowledge that seeks after truth kept me from connection therewith, but the decree of fate unexpectedly drew me from silence into speech, and intent on freshening the interest of my narrative, I have been led into entering upon a multiplicity of details A review of the general history of Hindustan has induced me to mention the comers into this vast country, and thus by recalling the memory of the great give a promise of currency to this important exposition

ADAM

They say that Adam after his fall from Paradise was thrown on the island of Ceylon, his consort on Juddah,[1] Azrāil in Sistān, the Serpent in Ispāhān, and the Peacock in

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[1] This is the true orthography but commonly written Jiddah on the Red Sea Azrāil is the angel of death who though connected with the creation of Adam, having been sent by God to bring various kinds of clay from the earth for the formation of his body, and having fulfilled the mission in which Gabriel and Michael had previously failed, is not mentioned as sharing his sin or punishment Iblis or Satan must be here meant whom the chroniclers unanimously declare to have been cast out of Paradise though they differ as to the place of his fall, Masaudi naming Baisān, and Tabari, Simnān near Jurjān He penetrated into Paradise notwithstanding the vigilance of its porter, by entering the mouth of the serpent that had on one occasion strayed outside The latter was at that time a quadruped but being cursed at the fall, was deprived of its feet and condemned to the form of a reptile The peacock is said to have conducted Eve to the forbidden tree At its expulsion it was deprived of its voice The relation of these puerilities may be pursued in Tabari, Masaudi, D Herbelot For Adam, *Ency Islam*, i 127 and in Sale's Korān, and in most general histories of Muhammadan chroniclers who are never more at home or more precise than when referring to events of which they can know nothing

Hindustan Imaginative writers have embellished this fable with abundant details, but in Sanscrit works which treat of the events of myriads of past ages not a trace of this story is to be found

HUSHANG

Was the son of Siyāmak and grandson of Kayumars, and succeeded his great ancestor, ruling with justice and liberality He is accounted the first to whom the name of sovereign virtually applies [2] He came to India where he displayed the lustre of virtue [194] The work called 'Eternal Wisdom' (*Javidān Khirad*) is said to be the fruit of his mature experience

Hāfiz,[3] in his *Istitālah* (*Per illustris*) says that when Māmun conquered Khurasān, the various chiefs sent presents to his court The governor of Kābul sent a sage named Dubān[4] on an embassy to Mamun and mentioned in his letter of homage that he was despatching to his court an offering of great price, than which nothing more valuable was known The Caliph on receiving this information appointed his minister Fadhl (Ibn-i-Sahl) to inquire what it referred to The envoy replied that the allusion was to himself They said to him, "How doth a distinction so great concern such as thee?" He answered, "In enlightened knowledge, judicious counsel, and right guidance," and he spoke such parables of wisdom that all were amazed It happened that at this time the Caliph designed to enter upon hostilities against his brother Muhammad u'l Amin and all parties were endeavouring to dissuade

[2] Firdausi imputes to him the discovery of fire from the concussion of two stones Hushang obtained by merit or adulation the epithet of *Peshdād* or the Lawgiver, when the *Peshdadian* kings took the name of their dynasty

[3] See Vol II, p 36, n 4 Of the Tārikh of Hāfiz Abru, no copy was known by Sir H Elliot to exist in India The Istitālah is not mentioned by Hāji Khalifah under that title

[4] The reader will recall the story of the Grecian king and his physician dubān in the thirteenth of the "Arabian Nights"

him from it He therefore consulted Dubān, whose clear-sighted reasoning confirmed his resolution of marching into Irāq and pressing on the war The sage's advice was the means of resolving all political difficulties Māmun treated him with great favour and commanded that a large sum of gold should be bestowed upon him. Dubān excused himself saying, "It is not the practice of my sovereign to allow his envoy to receive anything, but there is a work called 'Eternal Wisdom'[5] composed by the farsighted intellect of Hushang and is said to be in the Madāin[6] On the conquest of that country, when the Caliph obtains the work let him graciously bestow it upon me" His proposal was assented to When Madāin was taken, he pointed out that in a certain quarter of the city, by a certain tree there was a large stone This they were to lift and to dig down till they came to a subterranean chamber in which were a number of chests and a large quantity of valuables, none of which were to be touched as the time for removing them had not arrived In a certain corner of the chamber a box of certain shape would be found which they were to bring out, wherein would be discovered the work they sought Sharp-eyed and experienced men were sent in search, and all happened exactly as he had described Some portion of this work was translated into Arabic at the pressing insistance of Fadhl, but as it was treasured by Dubān, he did not suffer its translation to be completed

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[5] The original of this collection of moral fables is the Sanskrit *Panca-tantra*, from which were made the Arabic version named *Kalila-wa-Dimna* and the Persian translation named *Anwār-i-Suhaili* De Sacy supposes that in this last "we have the olden *Jāvidān Khirad*." [See *Ency Isl* ii 694-698 J S] Known to Europe as the *Fables of Pilpay*.

[6] The ancient Ctesiphon It passed into the possession of the Arabs in the Caliphate of Omar in A D 637 During the insurrection against al Mamun by the Alide party under the leading of Abu Sarāya, Madāin was taken by the latter, but recaptured during the same year, A D 815.

Ham

Was the son of Noah After the subsidence of the deluge he came to Hindustan Annalists of other countries than this believe the Hindus to be descended from him.

Jamshid

Was the son of Tahmuras *Devband* or the binder of the demons[7] When by the Almighty decrees he became a wanderer in the desert of misfortune, he happened to pass through Zābulistān For sixteen years he dwelt in Kābul and secretly married the daughter of the prince Kaurnak When the news was bruited abroad the prince bade him, one night, take his departure for Hindustan The poet Asadi[8] says of this night [P 195]

Black as an Ethiop grew the night whose veil
O'er the moon's face its sable shadow flung,
Sad as the stifled sob whose scarce-heard wail
Dies on the ear from some despairing tongue

[7] He receives this surname in the Shāh Namah His justice and vigour cleansed the country of crime, and produced the rebel lion of the Devs or demons, probably the barbarous neighbouring peoples who resented his iron control They were defeated by him and bound He introduced the solar year among the Persians, the first day of which, when according to Tabari he administered justice in open darbar, was called Nauroz when the sun enters Aries His prosperity turned his head and he proclaimed himself a deity, which disgusted his subjects and led to the invasion of the Syrian prince Zohāk, the descendant of Shedād, and according to some the nephew of Jamshid Malcolm says that the wanderings of the exiled prince are wrought into a tale which is amongst the most popular in Persian romance He was pursued through Seistān, India and China by the agents of Zohāk and carried before his enemy who, after every contumely he could inflict, placed him between two boards and had him sawn asunder When the news of his death reached his widow in Seistān she put an end to her life by poison The son of this marriage was Atrut, whose son was Garshāsp, whose son was Narimān, father of Sām, whose son Zāl was the father of Rustam See Malcolm, Hist Persia, I 3, and Atkinson's Abridgment of the Shāh Nāmah

[8] The quotation must be from the Garshāsp Nāmah of Hakim Asadi of Tus, one of the seven poets at the court of Mahmud of Ghazni.

For some time he employed himself in the profession of arms and when his secret was on the point of being discovered, he set out for China by way of Bengal, and on the road fell in with the emissaries of Zohāk

ZOHAK

Was the son of Mardās, the Arabian He passed into India several times as Asadi says

Zohāk the conqueror ere the year had gone,
To Kābul swiftly passed from Babylon,
Resolved to launch o'er India's plains once more
The invading legions he had led before

GARSHASP

Was the son of Utrut [9] The *Garshasp Namah* narrates *his* invasion of India and the astonishing actions in which he engaged.

ISFANDYAR OF THE BRAZEN BODY

Was the son of Gushtāsp,[10] the son of Luhrāsp. In obedience to the commands of his father he propagated the doctrines of Zoroaster, and his zeal caused the universal acceptation of that creed He honoured the institutions which were the bequest of Faridun, applying them after his own direction. Firdausi thus alludes to him

This mighty warrior of a line of kings
From clime to clime his rapid conquest wings,
O'er Greece and India his proud standards fly
To unknown seas where realms of darkness lie

[9] Malcolm gives Atrut, but the Dictionaries write the name as I have rendered it Firdausi makes him the son of Zav He was the last of the Peshdadian monarchs

[10] The conjecture that Gushtāsp was the Darius Hystaspes of the Greeks accords with the chronology of Herodotus , and starting from this first secure footing amid the quicksands of fable, the identification of Isfandyar with Xerxes is historically probable. The arguments in favour of this hypothesis are marshalled by Malcolm

NARIMAN, SON OF GARSHASP, THE SON OF UTRUT.

SAM, SON OF NARIMAN

ZAL, SON OF SAM

FARAMARZ, SON OF RUSTAM

BAHMAN,[11] SON OF ISFANDYAR

When the astrologers announced to Garshāsp the future sovereignty of Bahman and the overthrow of his own family, the devastation of Zābulistān, the slaughter of the descendants of Rustam, the disentombment of himself and his sons, and the burning of their bodies, he enjoined his sons to erect his tomb and that of his children at Kanauj in Hindustan When Garshāsp died, Narimān conveyed his remains thither, and on the death of Narimān his body was also taken to that country by Sām On Sām's death, Zāl transported his body to the same city whither, likewise, Faramarz carried Rustam when he died When Bahman defeated Zāl and Faramarz and the latter was killed in the engagement, Bahman overran Zabulistān and advanced to Kanauj desiring to view the royal mausoleum A superstitious awe restrained him from entering it Each of these four great men in anticipation of this event had left a great treasure within it Among them was the world-displaying mirror of Kaikhusrau (Cyrus), which at his death [P 196] he bequeathed to Rustam, and ninety maunds weight of diamonds belonging to Garshāsp Each of them also inscribed on a tablet a brief record of memorable

[11] Whatever doubt may exist regrading the identification of Xerxes with Isfandyār, there is little or none regarding that of Bahman with Artaxerxes Longimanus Bahman was known to the Persian historians as Ardishir *Darāzdast*, the similarity of the epithet adding conclusive evidence to the similarity of the name Firdausi says that when he stood upon his feet, his closed hand reached below his knee '

deeds, praying that the conqueror would not desecrate the tomb. Bahman, struck by the sight of these splendid offerings and the prescient sagacity of the gift, fell into a profound melancholy and withdrew from his previous resolve

Faramarz, indeed, had twice entered this country, for Rustam after his combat with Barzu by whose mace his arm had been disabled, said to Kaikhusrau, "if my son Faramarz returns this night from India, he will deal with Barzu," upon which followed his sudden arrival and the overthrow of the latter.

Alexander of Greece

When Alexander had completed the conquest of Irān and Turān and laid the foundations of Marv, Herāt and Samarqand, he entered India by Ghaznin and in the neigh bourhood of the Panjāb gave battle to the Hindu prince, Porus, who had advanced from Kanauj to engage him, and by stratagem put him to rout From thence he turned to the country of the Brāhmans The chiefs of that region represented to him that if the conqueror sought riches and worldly goods they were destitute of these

> Wisdom and knowledge dwell with us, nor cease
> To fill our bosoms with untroubled peace
> The earth a couch, the skies their covering lend,
> So turn our thoughts to our appointed end [12]

"If thy design be the gathering of knowledge and the search for truth, let those who seek it come not in this guise" Alexander, therefore, leaving his army, set out at the head of a few followers A court was held to secure a just hearing and their peculiar views were discussed in audience The king approved their speech and conduct and announced to them that whatever they desired should be granted They

[14] These lines are taken from Firdausi and vary somewhat from the ordinary text, where they are not consecutive The substance of a great deal of what follows in the reply of the Brahmans, is from the same sources

replied that they had no other wish than that the king should live for ever He answered that this wish was inconsistent with mortality They rejoined "If the instability of worldly things is so evident to your Majesty, why these fatigues in the tyrannous oppression of mankind?" Alexander for a space bowed his head in humiliation and imputed his actions to the decrees of fate

According to some Christian[13] writers, when the standards of Alexander were raised on the shores of the Indian Ocean, accounts of the island of the Brāhmans reached him and he determined to take possession of it They sent an envoy to him and made the following representation.—"Sovereign ruler of the world! The fame of thy conquests and thy successes has been constantly in our ears, but what can content a man to whom the possession of the world is insufficient? We enjoy no outward splendour, nor bodily vigour that thou shouldst deem us worthy to measure thy prowess in war The worldly goods that we own are shared in common amongst us, and we are passing rich on what may satisfy our hunger Our costliest robes are garments worn with age Our women are not in bondage to adornment for the seduction of hearts, and account no beauty or charm of price, save [197] that inherited from their mothers Of our lowly habitations we ask but two things, a shelter in life and in death a grave We have a king for considerations of dignity, not for the administration of justice or law What

[13] The term *tarsā* which I have rendered in its usual acceptation may be also applied to the Zoroastrians For *tarsa*, see Hastings, *Encyclopœdia of Religion*, iii 576 For the general idea of the letters, Abul Fazl is indebted to Firdausi, who in turn in one passage regarding the unprofitable questions put by Alexander to confound the Brāhmans, is in agreement with Plutarch The *jazira* or isle of the Brāhmans is perhaps Brāhmanābād, identified by Genl Cunningham as the town where Ptolemy was wounded by a poisoned sword (Quintus Curtius IX 8), the Harmatelia of Diodorus, described by him as the last town of the Brāhmans on the river For the Islamic traditions about Alexander, see *Encyclo Islam*, ii 533 (Iskandar)

use would punishment serve in a land where none is wicked and there is no thought of crime?" The sagacious monarch was struck by this affecting address and leaving them their freedom, abandoned his project

The following letter was addressed by Alexander to Didim, the head of the Brāhmans; for he had often heard that they did not live as other men. The novelty excited his wonder and made his life seem insupportable to him[14]:— "O Didim, after learning thy message, I desire again to be informed of thy precepts and doctrines If what thou hast represented bears the light of truth and is the result of experience, answer speedily, so that, putting this system to the proof, I also for justice sake and in search of truth, may follow thy footsteps" Didim thus replied "What I have stated results from profound knowledge You have not chosen to believe in its truth and you reject what you do not incline to Many blameable actions were favourably represented by you in our interview Now, therefore, with full knowledge believe my words Hirābud, the Brāhman, does not yield to the promptings of desire Content with the measure of his needs, he opens not the door of greed[15] Our food is

[14] This crabbed and obscurely-worded sentence is capable of a different, but in my opinion, not so satisfactory an interpretation The name *Didim* in the text is not in Firdausi It occurs in Plutarch (Alex LXXXVI) and in Arrian (Anab VII 2) as *Dandamis*, in Strabo (LXIV) as *Mandanis* The name is most probably *Dandin*, meaning an ascetic who always carries a rod in his hand after his initiation Mandanis is evidently an error, there was a real Hindu scholar bearing the name *Mandan Mishra* who figures in the stories of Sankarāchārya's disputations, but that was in the 8th century *after* Christ [J Sarkar]

[15] This probably refers to the embassy of Onesicritus to the Gymnosophists, who endeavoured to persuade some of them to return with him to Alexander's camp Plutarch says that Calanus insolently told him to divest himself of his robe in order to hear his precepts in nakedness, symbolical doubtless of humility and ignorance He was however induced by Taxila to visit Alexander who retained him in his suite with distinguished favour His self-chosen death by burning at Pasargadoe in Persia, when suffering from a fit of cholic, is told by Arrian [Bk vii ch 3 and 18], Diodorus, and Plutarch,

not such as the four elements cannot easily supply. The earth gives us of its produce In our meals intemperance has no place, for this reason we have no need of medicine or physician, and thus we enjoy perpetual well-being We are not indebted to each other for assistance We Brāhmans have equality in all things; what room then is there for indigence? In a land where the seeds of arrogance and vain glory grow not, universal poverty is consummate fortune We have no governor, for our actions are not subjects for penal inquiry We disapprove of a variety of creeds for they are produced through exceeding unrighteousness and manifold iniquities Our only religion is the worship of conscience From what it restrains us we withhold our hearts We do not submit to the tyranny of the pursuit of wealth for it fosters greed and brings disappointment in its train We disdain idleness and hold it in reproach We are not rendered averse from the delights of wedlock by incapacity, for all things are in our power as we can also forego them From the sun we receive warmth, from the dews moisture Our thirst is quenched from the stream and we have no couch but the earth Desire does not rob us of sleep, nor leave us a prey to care We lord it not over our equals through pride, we seek service from none save of our own bodies, for we consider the body subservient to the spirit We bake not stone in the fire for the raising of palaces, for we dwell in the hollows of the earth according to the measure of our needs, nor do we go in fear of the violence of the wind nor of storms of dust, for there we are safer than in houses of reed We wear no costly robes, we cover our nakedness with leaves, or to speak truly, with modesty, our women are at no pains for their adornment, for who can add beauty to the creations of God? and after they are arrayed [198] it profiteth them nothing. Our sexual commerce cometh not sinfully from carnal desire, but continuance of the race is kept in view. We are not prone to violence and we lay the

dust of discord by the agency of right conduct, and though dependent on the guidance of destiny we do not resign ourselves to inactivity Over our head we erect no edifices in the guise of temples of worship Give your commands to those who have flung wide for themselves the door of avarice and make their treasure of the things of this world The ravages of pestilence do not reach us for we defile not the skirts of heaven with evil deeds We are prepared to meet the vicissitudes of the seasons, and thus summer's heat and winter's cold distress us not, and therefore we live careless of the exigencies of those times We do not deaden our minds with games and shows of elephants and horses and with dancing, and when a desire for worldly pageants seizes us, the sight of the record of your actions withholds us therefrom, and recalling your deeds which indeed more deserve a smile, we are moved to many tears Worldly splendours make us rejoice in another spectacle, for amidst the varied beauties of the universe, the heavens glowing with the radiance of their myriad stars, the sea, coloured by its skies, that clasps in a fond embrace its sister earth, the revel of its fish that leap in play from its foam-tossing waves, fill our eyes with delight Wandering through the woods with the fragrance of flowers and by running springs in the shade of abundant trees gladdens us in a hunderd ways, while the sweet songs of birds render us unenvious of all the festal banquets of the rich Such is the theatre we possess, to share in the enjoyment of which is difficult, to erase it from our minds, a crime We plough not the seas in barks and vessels Our hearts are not aflame with passion for the beauty of others, and we affect not the language of flattery or eloquence The redundance of professed eulogists obtains no credit in this land, for the practice of this base crew which gives to the creature the praise due to God and overlays the purity of faith with error, darkens celestial light with reprehensible

deeds Of a truth you are the most unfortunate of mankind for your worship is sinful and your life is chastisement ''

The monarch thus replied ''If your language reflects the light of truth, I should infer that the Brāhmans alone are robed in the true characteristics of humanity and that this sect are to be regarded as incorporeal spirits To hold as altogether unlawful the acts of the natural man is either to be God or to be envious of the Supreme Being In short these principles, in my opinion, proceed from madness not from the fulness of wisdom O, Didim, I have not fixed my abode in this hired dwelling, nor made of a passing-rest-house a settled habitation but prudently looking on myself as a sojourner, hasten, unencumbered with guilt, to my true country This language is not the making of self a god, but like dark-minded bigots that are enemies to their own happiness, I do not affect to make the attributes of the Creator the instruments of my salvation And whosoever under the guidance of a wakeful fortune, abandoning sinful actions, walks in the way of virtue is not a god, but by means of the grace of that Supreme Lord, rises above his fellow men '' The writer [P 199] continued ''My royal master observes that you call yourselves fortunate in that you have chosen a retired spot of earth where the comings and goings of those without and the busy movement of the world are not heard, and that you consider this praiseworthy as proceeding from your attachment to your hearths and love of your native land The lowliness and poverty that you cannot avoid is not worthy of commendation on the contrary, the Almighty has inflicted this as a punishment for your evil deeds True merit consists in living abstemiously amid abundant fortune, for ignorance and want cannot exhibit the lustre of virtue The first cannot see what to avoid, the second has not the means by which it may possess I, who with all the resources of pleasure and enjoyment at my command,

have refrained from them altogether and have sternly chosen a life of toil, am more deserving of a glorious reward "

Some say that after his victory over Porus, Alexander heard that at the extremity of India, reigned a king called Kayd,[16] possessed of many virtues, and who for three hundred years had passed a blameless life To him he despatched a letter that appealed to his hopes and fears The king read the letter and thus replied "I have heard of the successes of your Majesty and would deem the honour of a personal visit the source of fortune, but stricken in years, strength fails me If my excuse is accepted, I will send as an offering four matchless treasures which are the pride of my life, an accomplished and virtuous maiden of incomparable beauty, a sage unequalled in penetrating the secrets of the heart, a physician, in healing as the Messiah, a cup which though drunk from is inexhaustible Alexander accepted the gifts and despatched Balinās with some experienced associates to bring them The envoy returned to the court with these treasures of price together with forty elephants of which three were white, and numerous other presents Alexander first essayed to test the Hindu sage He sent him a bowl full of clarified butter The sage thrust a few needles therein and sent it back Alexander fused the needles and forming the metal into a ball returned it to him The sage fashioning of this a mirror, again sent it back Alexander placed it in a basin full of water and despatched it once more The sage made of the mirror a drinking cup and set it upon the water of the basin The monarch filled it with earth and returned it At the sight of this, the sage fell into a profound melancholy and bitterly reproached himself and directed it to be carried back Alexander was perplexed at this action The

[16] This story is told at considerable length by Masaudi in the 26th Chapter of the 'Meadows of Gold' The king s name is there Kend Firdausi's version is somewhat different but the name is Kayd, as in the text

next day he held an assembly of the learned to discuss these mysteries The seer was introduced and honourably received He was of prepossessing exterior, with a noble brow, tall and powerfully made Alexander on seeing him, thus reflected "If to such a presence, he also unites a lofty wisdom, quickness of penetration and strength of will, he is unparalleled in his generation " The sage read his hidden thoughts and making a circuit of his face with his forefinger rested it on the point of his nose When asked for an explanation, he replied "I understood your Majesty's reflections and by this gesture I meant to express that as the nose in the face is one, I also am unique in my time " He was then required to expound the enigmas of the preceding day He answered "Your Majesty wished to signify the profundity of your wisdom, for as the bowl was full so the royal mind was filled with various knowledge and could contain no more I, on the other hand, showed that as needles could find a place therein, so could other lore find room in your mind By fashioning the ball your Majesty's intention was to discover that the clearness of your intellect was not like the bowl of butter in which other things could be contained, but resembled a ball of steel The construction into a mirror signified that though steel be hard, it is capable of such polish as to reflect the face By your sinking the mirror in water, I understood the shortness of life and the vast extent of knowledge By fashioning it into a cup, I answered that what sank in water might with skill be made to float, thus also immense erudition may be acquired by severe application and the shortness of life be prolonged The filling it with earth implied that the end of all things is death, and the return to earth This was capable of no answer, and I was silent " Alexander praised his sagacity and penetration and said "The profit that I have reaped from India has been my meeting with thee " He took him into his companionship and intimacy and parted from him only when he left

India The other three treasures also were subjected to a similar ordeal and their worth approved

Some writers narrate the history of Porus after the particulars regarding Kayd, and state that he fled without fighting to distant parts and that his dominions were conferred upon another

MANI THE PAINTER [1]

His presumption led him to claim the authority of a prophet and he composed a work which he pretended had come down from heaven affirming also that he was the Paraclete announced by the Messiah, Sāpur, the son of Ardshir Bābagān favoured him It was not long before his imposture was discovered and he was condemned to death, but he contrived to escape by flight For a time he remained in Kashmir and from thence entered India where his doctrines received some acceptance From thence he went to Turkistān and China and resided chiefly in the eastern parts till his wanderings brought him to a mountain where he discovered a cave which was untrodden by human foot, and to this he brought provisions sufficient for a year One day, in the course of conversation, he said to his followers "I have been summoned to heaven where I shall remain for a twelve-

[1] This account appears to be taken from Khondemir and agrees in the main with D Herbelot s sketch from the same historian Firdausi makes him a native of China and places his death in the reign of Shāhpur by whom, he says Mani was flayed alive and his skin stuffed with straw as a warning to his followers The Manichean sect takes its rise from this impostor who, according to D'Herbelot, was a Christian priest in the province of Ahwāz and had many controversies with the Jews and Magians and maintained the Indian doctrine of metempsychosis He named twelve apostles to preach his doctrines in India and China, and gave them his book called the 'Anghelion 'Anghelion, c est à dire l'Evangile One of his principles was abstinence from all flesh and he forbade the taking of animal life He admitted two principles of good and evil and the dual soul, one bad and created with the body by the evil principle, and the other the good created by the good principle He denied free-will and the necessity of baptism *Dabistan* (Shea and Troyer), i 205, Hastings, *Encyclo.* viii 396

month be not troubled at my absence nor withdraw from the worship of God and the practice of virtue At the end of the year, go, some of you, to a certain mountain and wait in expectation " Previous to his concealment he had learnt the art of painting in which he had attained incomparable skill After he had ascended the mountain, he painted some wonderful figures which are celebrated by the name of Artang, or Arzhang,[18] and at the time that he had said, he came forth with the book in his hand Those who saw it were filled with amazement He exclaimed "This is not the work of mortals that ye should wonder, I brought it from heaven and it is painted by the angels ' This he brought forward as a witness of his prophetic mission and deceived the ignorant and credulous He attempted to impose upon Bahrām Gor, the son of Hormuzd, the son of Ardeshir, but he failed in his purpose and in this criminal venture staked and lost his life

[201] BAHRAM GOR

War the son of Yezdejird, the Wicked, of the Sassanian dynasty Since the lust of the world fills the brain with extraordinary fancies in the first flush of his success he was seized with the frenzy of adventurous travel, and leaving one of the Magi of the line of Bahman, son of Isfandyār, as governor in his stead, he set out for India in a disguise which defied recognition In those parts there was a raging elephant which put the whole country in terror Although the bravest warriors had attempted to kill it, they lost but their own lives Bahrām hearing of this event arrived at the place and by sheer strength of arm destroyed it The prince

[18] Hammer Purgstal supposes that the *Artang* might have been an ensign upon which cabalistic fingers were represented, and which the Mongols and Buddhists used to call Māni (Jahrb der Lit for April, May June, 1840, p 78 quoted by Troyer (*Dabistan*, I 205)

of that region received him at his Court with much favour [19] In his vicinity a powerful enemy had arrived to dispute his sovereignty, and he saw no resource but in the payment of tribute Bahrām dissuaded him from this course, and opposed the invader in person and defeated him The prince gave him his daughter in marriage, but when he discovered his illustrious descent, he became apprehensive and dismissed him loaded with presents back to his own country It is said that Bahrâm took with him 12,000 musicians, and many other wonderful adventures are related of him

BURZUYAH

Nushirwan spent his days in the assiduous pursuit of knowledge, solicitous to discover erudite minds and interesting literary works He opportunely fell in with a learned Brāhman with whom he frequently held familiar discussions Enquiry was made regarding the truth of a universal report to the effect that in a certain mountainous part of India certain herbs grew which could restore the dead to life The Brāhman replied "The report has a semblance of fact, inasmuch as by the mountain is meant a wise man, by the herbs knowledge, and by the dead an ignorant person," and he proceeded to expound the various lore of the country and the advantages thereof In this he included the story of Kalilah and Damnah, and briefly recounted its merits and said, "the rulers of Hindustan keep this manual of statecraft studiously concealed and do not show it to every one " The desire to obtain this work rendered the monarch

[19] See Vol II for the connection of Bahrām Gor with the royal house of Mālwah The adventures of this monarch were the subject of a poem by the Persian poet Kātibi and they are amply narrated in the Shāhnāmah Firdausi gives the name of the Indian prince as Shangal Bahrām is represented as having fled from Kanauj with his wife after his marriage, being wearied of his splendid exile The monarch pursues, but after an interview becomes reconciled to his departure

impatient He commanded his ministers saying "I need a judicious and discerning person who to a strong bodily constitution unites firmness of purpose and various learning, besides a knowledge of foreign tongues" Burzuyah was found to possess these important qualifications and successfully proved his capacity A large sum of money was entrusted to him in order that he might set out in the guise of a merchant to that country, and through inquiries of experts attain the object of his mission, and return with it and other scientific treatises to the court He came to India, and setting up as a trader passed himself off as an unlearned person desirous of acquiring knowledge In this way he secured an intimacy with the ministers of the Indian princes, and through their instrumentality returned to the imperial court with that volume of wise lore, together with other valuable objects The king received him with favour and fulfilled his desires [20]

Muhammad Qasim

Was cousin to the celebrated Hajjaj He received his commission in the reign of the Caliph Abdu'l Malik, as has been already noticed [P 202]

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[20] This story is somewhat differently told by Firdausi Burzuyah, he narrates was one of the distinguished circle of learned men at the court of Nushirwān, and one day presented himself before that monarch saying that he had lately read in a Sanskrit work of a mountain in India where grew a herb bright as a Greek sword-blade, which skilfully compounded and sprinkled over a corpse would restore it to life, and he asked permission to go in search of it The king despatched him to India ostensibly as a merchant with many presents steeds and a letter addressed to the king of Kanauj and with merchandise laden on 300 camels The Indian prince offered him every facility in his search for the wonderful herb, of which no trace could be found He was directed at last to a hoary sage who informed him that the mountain was wisdom the herb an eloquent monitor, and the corpse an ignorant man and that this herb was fitly represented by the work called Kalilah which was in the king's treasury Returning elated to Kanauj Burzuyah petitioned the Prince for the gift of the work

AMIR NASIRUDDIN SABUKTIGIN

Was the father of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni After Bahrām Gor none of the (Persian) kings entered India Sabuktigin invaded it at the head of an army in the year A H 367 (A D 977), and after several engagements returned to Ghaznin [21]

AMIR SULTAN MAHMUD GHAZNAVI

Led twelve descents on India The first was in A H 390 (A D 1000), and the last in A H 418 (A D 1027) Fanatical bigots representing India as a country of unbelievers at war with Islām incited his unsuspecting nature to the wreck of honour and the shedding of blood and the plunder of the virtuous

SULTAN MASAUD

Was son of Mahmud He crossed into India in A H 426 (A D 1034-35)

SULTAN IBRAHIM, SON OF SULTAN MASAUD

Although a considerable territory in Hindustan was in the possession of the descendants of Sultan Mahmud, none of the undermentioned princes entered India —Makhul-b-Sultān Mahmud, Maudud-b-Masaud, Masaud-b-Maudud, Sulān Ali-b-Masaud-b-Mahmud, Sultān Abdu'r Rashid-b-Mahmud, Farrukhzād-b-Masaud, but when in course of time

which in *Arabic* was called Kalilah For the correct history of the translations of this Indian volume of wise lore (the *Pancatantra*), see *Ency Islam*, ii 694-698, under *Kalila-wa-Dimna* [J S]

[21] The latest work on the dynasty of Ghazni is Dr Nazim's *Sultan Mahmud* (Cambr 1931) See also the *Cambridge History of India* (1928) Vol III ch 2 The dates of Mahmud's invasions of India have been critically discussed in Elliot and Dowson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, ii Appendix D pp 434 *et seq* See also Raverty's trans of *Tabqāt-i Nāsiri* [J Sarkar]

the crown devolved upon Ibrāhım-b-Masaud-b-Sultān Mahmud he made peace with the Saljuqıs and turning his thoughts to India he entered it on several occasions

SULTAN MASAUD-B-IBRAHIM

Also crossed into India at intervals and was successful

BAHRAM SHAH-B-MASAUD-B-IBRAHIM

The *Hadıqat (u'l Haqāıq)* of the (poet) Hakım Sanāı[22] and the *Kalıla Damna* of (Abu'l Maālı) Nasru'llah Mustaufi were dedicated to him This prince also visited India

KHUSRAU SHAH-B-BAHRAM SHAH

On the death of his father, he succeeded to the throne It was about this time that Alāu'ddın Husayn Ghorı, known as *Jahānsoz* or Burner of the World, sacked Ghaznın and entered India Sultān Ghıyāsu'ddın Sam and Sultān Shıhābu'ddın, nephews of Alāu'ddın Husayn, on whom the latter had bestowed Ghaznın and the adjacent provinces, contrived to secure the person of Khusrau Shāh from India and put him in prison where he ended his days, and thus the dynasty of the descendants of Mahmud passed away Some authorities, however, assert that Khusrau Shāh held his court at the capital of Lahore, and that on his death, he was succeeded by his son [203] Khusrau Malık who was taken by the Ghorıs and placed in confinement,[23] in which he continued till he died

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[22] This poet was a native of Ghaznı His *Hadıqah* is well known and is altogether of a religious character, a mystical treatise on the unity of God and other devotional subjects

[23] This latter version is correct Khusrau Shāh died in A D 1160, after a reign of seven years Khusrau Malık, his son prolonged his feeble rule for 27 lunar years to A D 1186 He was taken prisoner by Shıhābu'ddın through a stratagem, and sent with his family to Gharjistān where, some years after he was put to death

Sultan Muizz'uddin Muhammad Sam

He is also called Sultān Shihābu'ddin After the capture of Ghaznin Alāu'ddin Husayn Ghori imprisoned Ghiyāsu'ddin and Shihābu'ddin

On his death, his son Sayfu'ddin came to the throne and by releasing them attached them to his person

On the death of Sayfu'ddin in his campaign in I'rāq [24] he was succeeded by Ghiyāsu'ddin During his reign Shihābu'ddin led several expeditions into India, and the (defeat and) death of Prithvi Rāj and the conquest of Hindustan occurring about this time, he left his slave Qutbu'ddin (Eibak) at Delhi as his representative On the death of Ghiyāsu'ddin, the throne was occupied by Shihābu'ddin who favoured the Turkish slaves Among these was Taju'ddin Yildiz, upon whom he bestowed the governments of Mekrān and Surān which are dependencies of India

Sultan Qutbu'ddin Aibak

Was one of the slaves of Sultān Mu'izzu'din, and rose to eminence through his own valour and resolution The Sultan entrusted to him the viceroyalty of Delhi He made many successful campaigns in India and performed many acts of personal prowess

Malik Nasiru'ddin Qabachah

Was also a slave of Mu izzu ddin On the death of his master he made himself master of Uchh, Multān and the Sind country.

Sultan Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish

Some account him to have been a slave of Shahābu'ddin and others of Qutbu'ddin Aibak After the death of the

[24] Against the Turkish tribe of the Euz or Ghuz long settled in Kipchāk

latter, hıs son Arām Shāh beıng defeated, the sovereıgnty devolved upon Iltutmısh

SULTAN GHIYASU DDIN BALBAN

Was one of the slaves of Shamsu'ddın and brought from Turān to Indıa For a tıme he held the tıtle of Ulugh Khān and subsequently obtaıned the sovereıgn power

SULTAN MUHAMMAD-B-SULTAN MALIK SHAH SALJUQI [25]

Accordıng to some authorıtıes, towards the close of hıs lıfe havıng settled hıs dıfferences wıth hıs brothers, he ınvaded Indıa and put many to death A stone ıdol weıghıng ten thousand maunds fell ınto hıs possessıon The Hındus sent hım a message offerıng to ransom ıt at ıts weıght ın pearls Thıs offer he refused

SULTAN JALALU DDIN MANKBURNI [26]

[204] When Sultan Muhammad Khwarazm Shāh took refuge from the troops of the great Qāān, Changız Khān, ın the ısland of Abaskun, he was accompanıed by hıs son Jalālu'ddın who, on hıs father s death, set out for Khurāsān

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[25] He was the fifth prınce of the elder branch of the Seljuks of Persıa, omıttıng the ephemeral reıgn of Malık Shāh son of Barkıarok He succeeded to power ın A D 1105 and dıed ın A H 511 (A D 1118) The author of the *Tarıkh ı-Guzıdah*, Hamdu llah-b Abı Bakr Qazwını mentıons hıs ınvasıon of Indıa and the capture of the ıdol Hıs reason for rejectıng the offer of the Hındus was that as Azar, the father of Abraham, was a maker of ıdols (*but tarāsh*) ıt should never be saıd of hım that he was the seller thereof (*but farosh*) See *Ency Isl* ııı 673 He fled says De Guıgnes ınto Ghılān passed Astarābād and took refuge ın the ısland of Abaskun where he dıed mıserably abandoned by every one As Suyutı narrates that he fell ıll of a pleurısy and dıed alone and abandoned, and hıs corpse was shrouded ın hıs beddıng A H 617 (A D 1220), v Hıst of the Calıphs Jarrett, p 495 The narratıve ın the text ıs borrowed from Mırkhond

[26] See *Encycl Islam*, ı 1004, under Djalal-al-Dın Mangubartı, also Raverty s trans of *Tabaqāt-ı-Nāsırı* (where the name ıs spelt *Mangbarnı*), pp 1013-1023, 1042 *et seqq* [J S] Abaskun ıs a port on the south-eastern shore of the Caspıan Sea

and thence hastened to Ghaznah, and was engaged in several important actions against the Qāān's forces in which he was victorious The great Qāān himself marched in person to remedy the disaster Jalālu'ddin unable to cope with him retired towards Hindustan The great conqueror pursued him to the banks of the Indus and both armies were again engaged Yielding at last to superior force he mounted his horse and seizing his royal umbrella in his hand plunged into the stream and crossing its raging waters landed at a point opposite the enemy He there took off his saddle and flung his clothes in the sun, and planting the umbrella in the ground sat down under its shade The Qāan beheld this feat with astonishment and was loud in his admiration For a night and day he remained there and was joined by fifty of his men, and cutting some clubs, they made a night attack on a party of Indians and carried off a considerable booty,[27] and in a short time ten thousand horsemen were assembled under his command Sultān Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish, Emperor of Hindustan, was under the gravest apprehension, and could not venture to engage him Jalāl'ddin continued for nearly two years in India carrying on a desultory warfare, and made himself master of several fertile districts, but subsequently returned by way of Kach and Mekrān to the conquest of I'rāq

Some authorities assert that when the number of his followers amounted to a thousand, he marched towards Delhi, and sent a messenger to Sultān Shamsu ddin Altmish desiring a post in his service The latter prudently declined, and after the manner of astute intriguers he poisoned his messenger, and sending him a number of valuable presents sped him towards Irān [28]

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[27] See this story in the *Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha* of Juwaini Elliot, II and the narrative taken from the Rauzatu's Safā Elliot, II Appendix 558

[28] Ferishta says he compelled him to retreat towards Sind and Sewistān, and Mirkhond that he remained an independent power in India for three years and seven months Elliot, II 561

Turmatai[29] Novian

Was one of the principal generals of Changiz Khān After the incidents in connection with Sultān Jalālu'ddin, he invaded India and took Multān Nāsir'uddin Qubacha who was governor of that province, opened the gates of his treasury and won over the soldiery, and by his address and valour remedied the disaster

Malik Khan Khalaj

Was one of the military adventurers of Khwārizam and invaded Sind Nasiru'ddin Qabāchah advanced to give him battle and displayed great heroism in the encounter in which the Khalaji lost his life

Tahir[30]

Was one of the generals of Changiz Khān, and in the reign of Mu'izzu ddin Bahram Shāh (A D 1239-42) son of Sultan Shamsu'ddin (Iltutmish), he was infatuated with the design of invading Hindustan Malik Qarāqash at that time held the government of Lahore on behalf of the Sultān and from want of spirit and the disunion among his followers, he set out one night for Delhi, and the town was sacked

[29] This name appears in the Tarikh-i-Jahān Kusha as Turtai (Elliot II 391) who was despatched by Changiz Khān in pursuit of Sultan Jalālu ddin He captured Multān and ravaged the surrounding country returning through Sind to Ghazni The word Noviana (or Novian in oriental historians), in the Mogul language signifies chief or general corresponding to the Arab word Emir (De Guignes o III p 69), and will be found as an adjunct to many names in the history of the Moguls (Vol III Book XV) Raverty spells Novian as *Nu in* and *Nu-yin* and explains it on p 164 He gives this general's name as *Turmati* or *Turti* and describes the attack on Multan in 621 A H on pp 534-540 [J S]

[30] Raverty spells the name as *Tāir* (p 1126) and describes the siege of "*Lohor*" (pp 1133-1135 and 655) Lahore fell on 22nd Dec 1241 [J S] This invasion is noticed by Ferishta without naming the invader as having taken place on the 16th Jumāda I A H 639 (A D 1241), and according to Briggs was under "a famous Turk leader Toormoosherin Khān"

Mankuyah[31]

Was one of the generals of Hulāgu Khān He advanced as far as Uchh in the reign of Sultān Alāu'ddin Masaud Shāh (A.D 1242-46), who marched to give him battle On arriving at the banks of the Biāh, the invader retreated to Khurāsān A year previous to the invasion of Mankuyah, a part of the army of Changiz Khān entered Bengal[32] and hostilities took place with Tughān Khān, who was at that time governor on the part of Alau'ddin Masaud Shāh (reign 639-643 A H), but terms of peace were agreed upon In the reign of Sultān Nasiru'ddin Mahmud Shāh the Mughal troops again invaded the Panjāb and retired

Sari Novian

Invaded Sind with a large army Sultan Nasiru'ddin (A D 1246-66), sent Ulugh Khān to oppose him and followed in person, and the invader retreated [33]

Timur Novian

In the reign of Hulāgu Khān marched towards India with a large force and a hard-fought engagement took place with Qadar Khān, son of Sultān Ghiāsu'ddin Balban between Lāhor and Dipālpur in which this nursling of fortune drank his last draught [34] He was brave, studious, and a friend to learning, and twice despatched gifts of

[31] *Tabaqāt-i-Nasiri* trans p 1047 spells as *Mankadhu* or *Mankadah*, on p 1153 as *Mangutah*, whom *Raverty* differentiates from Mukātu on p 1126 *n* , siege of Uchh described on pp 1154-1156 and also 667 [J S]

[32] They arrived at Lakhnauti in Shawwal A H 642 (March 1245) by way of Khata and Tibet according to Ferishta

[33] Raverty's trans of *Tab Nāsiri* p 711 mentions the invasion of Nuyin Salin [not *Sāri*] in 655 A H (Dec 1256 A D) Ulugh Khan was the earlier title of Ghiyās ud-din Balban Sultan of Delhi [J S]

[34] The phrase is not inappropriate, as Qadar Khān was surprised by the routed enemy as he halted by a stream to drink and to return thanks for his victory E & D iii 122

valuable presents to Muslihu'ddin Shaykh Sa'adi at Shiraz, with an invitation to his court Although the poet was unable to accept it, he sent him a work written with his own hand In this action Mir Khusrau was taken prisoner and has himself briefly alluded to this event in his poem After this no foreign invasion took place for seven years

ABDU'LLAH KHAN

Was the grandson of Hulagu Khan who advanced upon India by way of Kabul, A H 691 (A D 1292), Sultan Jalalu'ddin (Firoz Khilji, A D 1288-95), marched to stem the disaster and a stubborn engagement was fought at Bagram,[15] after which the invader retreated on terms of peace Algu, a grandson of Changiz Khan, with many other chiefs entered the service of the Sultan, who gave him his daughter in marriage In the beginning of the reign of Sultan Alau'ddin, some of the Turan troops crossed the Indus, and he despatched (Almas Beg) Ulugh Khan and Zafar Khan with a large force to oppose them The Mughals were defeated, some were taken prisoners, but the greater number were slain

SALDI

Was of the Mughal race and about this time invaded Sind The Sultan (Alau'ddin) appointed Zafar Khan (to oppose him), who in a short time obtained a victory and taking him prisoner, sent him to the royal court [16]

Barani s *Tarikh Firoz Shahi* gives *Barram*, a river divided the two armies but there is no mention of the province in which the engagement took place Elliot III 147-148

For *Algu* Barani reads Ulghu The Tarikhi Firoz Shahi says that these Mughuls embraced Islam and were allotted residences in Ghiyaspur Kilughari Indrapat and Taluka which were called Mughalpur after them

[16] Mentioned in the Tarikhi Firoz Shahi Elliot III 165

[206] QATLAGH KHWAJAH.[37]

In the same year crossed the Indus with a large army and advanced by direct marches on Delhi, and as his design was otherwise he did not open his hand to plunder. Sultān Alāu'ddin resolved to give him battle and (Zafar Khān) defeated him, pursuing him for sixteen *kos*. The chiefs through jealousy did not join in the pursuit and the enemy returning surrounded him. Though (Zafar Khān) was offered the strongest assurances of advancement, he refused their terms and died fighting to the last.

TARGHI NOVIAN

At the time when Sultaān Alāu'ddin was investing Chitor, thinking the opportunity favourable, invaded India with a large army. The Sultān after the capture of that fortress, A H 703 (A D 1303), hastened to oppose him and Targhi possessed himself of the fords of the river Jumna, within five *kos* of Delhi. The Sultān entrenched himself in the vicinity outside the city walls. After some hostilities Targhi returned unsuccessful to his own country.[38]

ALI BEG AND TARTAK

Were descendants of Changiz Khān. At the head of thirty thousand horse, skirting the (Sewālik) mountains, he penetrated to Amroha, A H 704 (A D 1304). Sultān Alāu'ddin sent an army to oppose them. After severe fight-

[37] Ziau'ddin Barani gives the details of this action which took place in A D 1299 and mentions the failure of Ulugh Khān and other chiefs to support Zafar Khān and the favourable offer of Katlagh which was refused. Zafar Khan's reputation for valour among the Mughals resembled that of Cœur de Lion in Syria. If their horses shied they would ask if they had seen the ghost of Zafar Khān. Barani in Elliot, iii 165-167 also 548 (Khusrau)

[38] These Mongol invasions are described by Zia Barani and Amir Khusrau. See Elliot, iii 72 and 189 (Targhi) 72 and 198 (Ali Beg and Tartak), 73 and 198 (Kapak), 74 and 199 (Iqbalmand) [J S]

ing, both of these chiefs were taken prisoners and the rest as an example were trodden to death by elephants

KAPAK MUGHAL

In the following year (A H 705) reached India with a considerable force, but was taken prisoner. The year after, thirty thousand Mughals made an incursion through the Sewaliks The Sultān sent a large army which seized the fords and skilfully obstructed them In the retreat many of the Mughals perished and some were taken prisoners

IQBAL MAND

In the reign of Alāu'ddin invaded the country at the head of an army of Mughals, but was killed in action After this no further hostile designs were entertained by them

KHWAJAH RASHID[9]

Sultān Muhammad Khudabandah sent the author of the *Jāmi'ut Tawārikh-i Rashidi* on an embassy to Sultān Qutbu'ddin [Mubārak Khilji], son of Sultān Alāu ddin, and a close friendly alliance was entered into between them

LORD OF THE FORTUNATE CONJUNCTION (TIMUR)

When the sovereignty of Delhi devolved upon Sultān Mahmud the grandson of Sultān Firoz [Tughluq] and the office of chief minister upon Mallu Khān, all systematic administration and knowledge of affairs ceased to exist and

[9] Fazlu'llah Rashidu'ddin was born in A H 645 (A D 1247), in Hamadān, and as a physician was brought into notice at the court of the Mughal Sultāns of Persia The Jāmi'u't Tawarikh was finished in A D 1310, and is a general history in 4 Vols containing the history of the Turkish and Arab tribes, prophets, kings, Khalifs, &c For Khudabanda the Ilkhan, see *Ency Islam*, iii 974 under *Olcaitu* (pronounced *Oljāita*) and for Rashid-ud-din iii 1124

the government fell into discredit At this period the Sublime Standards approached as has already been briefly described Notwithstanding [207] the conquest of so populous a kingdom, the booty obtained was not important, and the invaders impelled by love of their native land, retired from the country

Baber

His history has been fully detailed in the first volume [40]

Humayun

When the jewel of sovereignty beamed with the radiance of a coming possession, Humāyun, after some unsuccessful attempts, invaded India (A D 1555), as before narrated

Infinite praise to the Almighty that through the justice of the emperor and the harmonious order of his administration, Hindustan has become a gathering of the virtuous from all parts of the universe, each of whom in manifold ways has attained to the desire of his heart

But this long narrative will never end, for there are many of those freed from the trammels of the world and of others fettered therein, who have visited this country, such as Husayn Mansur, Abu Maashar of Balkh, Khwājah Mu'inu'ddin Sijizi, Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi, Shaykh I'rāqi, Shaykh Saadi, Mir Husayni, Mir Sayyid Ali Hamadāni and others

[40] The *Akbarnāmah*, of which the *Ain-i-Akbari* is the third volume Accounts of Humāyun will also be found in the 1st volume

CHAPTER XI

SAINTS OF INDIA

(Awliya-i-Hind)

Inasmuch as the writer is a suppliant before the servants of God and the love of them is innate in his heart, he concludes this work with a notice of such among them as have been either born or have their last resting places in this country He trusts that this course will be pleasing to many minds and a source to them of eternal bliss For himself he will inhale fragrance from the garden of truth and receive the meed of his abundant toil.

Awliyā is the (Arabic) plural of *wali* which is interpreted as signifying 'nearness', by which is intended spiritual proximity Some authorities ascribe to *wilāyat* with a *kasra* of the *wao*, the meaning of diversity of appearance, and to *walāyat* with a *fatha*, that of authority Others assert that the idea of a lover attaches to the first, and the state of the beloved to the second The possessor of the former quality is called *wali*, that of the latter, *wāli* Another opinion is that the word (*walāyat*) with the *fatha*, betokens the proximity (to God) of the prophets, and with a *kasra* (*wilāyat*), of the saints [1] In ancient works many significations have been given,

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[1] Compare with this Jāmi s introduction to his *Nafahātu'l Uns min Hadharāti'l Quds* (Halitus familiaritatis e virs sanctitate eminentibus prodeuntes) p 3, Lees' edit where the derivation and meanings of *wali* are discussed and illustrated Do you desire to be a *Wali*?' said the celebrated devotee Ibrāhim Adham, to a certain man, then seek not the things of this world or the next, but resign thyself wholly to God and turn to Him ' That is, that the selfish desire for the delights of paradise is an obstruction to perfect communion with God in a similar sense with worldly pleasures though, of course, differing in degree [Jarrett]

According to Jurjani, a *wali* is one who knows God , he is delivered from the yoke of the passions , he has influence with

the outcome of which is that it means one who has attained to the knowledge of the Supreme Being, a lofty soul will indeed love God alone To me the wonder is, what connection can exist between a dust-mote of creation and the self-existing sun, and what bond lies between the finite and infinity? A *wali*, in my opinion, is one who acquires four great virtues and avoids eight reprehensible actions He should always wage a victorious war by circumspect conduct against the myriad disorders of the spirit, and never for an instant relax his attention from its deceits This lofty station is attainable by the grace of God and the guidance of fortune, and is sometimes to be reached through the spiritual powers of a mediator, and sometimes without it The latter state they call *Uwaysi* with reference to the example of Uways Qarani,[2] and some say

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The former, who possess the power of revealing things not manifest to the senses, are classed under twelve orders, of which two are regarded as unorthodox --

[208] (1) Muhāsibi (2) Qassār (3) Tayfuri (4) Junaydi (5) Nuri (6) Sahli (7) Hakimi (8) Kharrāzi (9) Khafifi (10) Sayyāri (11) Hululi (12) Hallāji

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God, he can bind and loosen, he also has the gift of miracles (*Karāmat*) *Ency Islam*, iv 1109 under *Wali*, where the correct etymology is discussed [J S]

[2] This personage is referred to in the 37th Makamah of al Hariri, and the crowd thronged round Abu Zayd praising him and kissing his hand and seeking a blessing by the touch of his tattered garment till I thought that he must be Uways al Qaran or Dubays al Asadi" He was the son of Aāmir and one of the Tābi'n (or those next in time to the companions of Muhammad) celebrated among the devotees of Kufah and was killed fighting at the battle of Siffin under Ali, in A H 87 Hariri, p 506, for the prophetic announcements of his birth and sanctity, the visit of Omar and Ali to him, and their discovery of the 'white wonder' of his hand in the Mosaic sense

I The source of grace to the FIRST-NAMED was Abu Abdu'llah Hārith[1] b-Asad Muhāsibi, a native of Basrah He mastered all secular and speculative science and was thoroughly acquainted with the inequalities of the spiritual road He was *the* teacher of his time [*ustād-i-waqt*] and the author of many works He died at Baghdad in A H 243 (A D 857) As he ever judiciously wielded the moral controlling authority of his age, he received this name of Muhāsib

The SECOND follow Ḥamdun, the son of Ahmad-b-Ammār, Qassār or the Fuller, his patronymic being Abu Sālih He studied under Thauri[2] and acquired many spiritual benefits from Salm-b-Husayn Bārusi, Abu Turāb Nakshabi and Ali Nasrābādi, and was a disciple of Abu Hafs He attained a high degree of perfection though the world gave loose to the tongue of slander against him He died at Nishapur in A H 271 (A D 884)

The THIRD revere Tayfur-b-I'sa Bistāmi whose patronymic is Bāyazid One of his great ancestors was a Magian called Sharoshān His earliest education was received from the elders of Bistām under whom he studied science and

[1] He is said by Jami never to have used any support for his back night or day for 40 years but always to have sat resting his knees on the ground declaring it to be the proper attitude for a servant in front of his Lord the King meaning the Almighty

[2] Sufyan Thauri is noticed in Jāmi p 716 and in the same volume will be found the names of all the saints and doctors mentioned in the following pages Internal evidence conclusively proves that Abul Fazl utilized Jāmi's work in this compilation one sentence being taken almost *verbatim* in the account of the fourteenth name in the second list and as usual without acknowledgment I do not think it necessary to disturb the dust of these uninviting biographies which are often as brief and colourless as those in the text a bald record of names and dates with laudatory epithets of erudition or sanctity and concluding occasionally with a few devotional maxims Many of these are excellent precepts of conduct and are proofs of a true interior spirit of piety but this is not the place to record them For the rest the English reader can be neither edified nor instructed by a hagiography of fossil names most of them as profoundly forgotton as if they had never survived The few that require any special mention shall receive it

reached the rank of a *mujtahid*[5] Next, having mastered the ordinary subjects of knowledge, he attained to the highest grade of intellectual distinction He ranked equal to Ahmad Khazrawaih, Abu Hafs, and Yahya-b-Maāz, and was contemporary with Shaqiq of Balkh He died in A H 261 (A D 874-75), or according to another account, A H 234 (A D 848)

The FOURTH are adherents of Junayd Baghdadi whose patronymic is Abu'l Qāsim and who is styled *Qawārīri*, the flask maker, and *Zajjāj*, the glass manufacturer, and *Khazzāz*, the raw-silk merchant His father sold glass and he himself traded in silk His ancestors were from Nahāwand, but he was born and bred in Baghdad He studied, for a time, under Sariv Sakatiy, Hārith al Muhāsibi and Muhammad Qassāb, and his connection is authoritatively traced with Kharrāz [the Cobbler], Ruyam, Nuri, Shibli and many others among the chosen servants of God Shaykh Abu Jaafar-b-Haddād says that if wisdom could be incarnate, it would assume the form of Junayd He died in A H 297-98 or 99 (A D 909-10-11)

The FIFTH are called after Abishkhwur Nuri Serābdil His name was Ahmad-b-Muhammad or according to some, Muhammad-b-Muhammad He was commonly known as Ibn-i-Baghawi His father was from Khurāsān but his own birth and origin are of Baghdad, and he is among those distinguished for wisdom and virtue He was in friendly intercourse with Sariy Sakatiy,[6] Muhammad Qassāb, and Ahmad Abu'l Hawāri, and contemporary with Zu'n Nun[7]

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[5] This term denotes a doctor who exerts all his capacity for the purpose of forming a right opinion upon a legal question and the title assumes that he was successful (Full discussion in *Ency Islam* ii 448 (under *Idjtihad*)

[6] I am not sure of the orthography *Sakatiy* signifies a dealer in small wares, a pedlar

[7] Abu'l Fayz Thubān-b-Ibrahim The reputation for sanctity and miracles of this mystic extends throughout the Moslem world and his name constantly occurs in its literature He died in A H

of Egypt. He is considered equal in authority with Junayd but somewhat more impulsive He died in A H 29[illegible] (A D 907-8) or 286 (A D 899)

[209] The SIXTH originate from Sahl-b-Abdu'llah Tustari, who was a disciple of Zu'n Nun of Egypt, and one of the most eminent of those who attained to this sublime vocation He was among the associates of Junayd and died in the month of Muharram, A H 283 (A D 896), at the age of eighty-six

The SEVENTH revert to Abu Abdu'llah Muhammad-b Ali Hakim-i-Tirmidi He was in intercourse with Abu Turāb Nakshabi, Ahmad Khazrawaih and Ibn-i-Jalā, and was pre-eminent in all secular and speculative knowledge He is reported to have been a voluminous author and to have had the gift of miracles

The EIGHTH look to Abu Said Kharrāz, or the Cobbler His name was Ahmad-b-Isa and he was a native of Baghdad Through his inclination towards the Sufis he went to Egypt and resided in devout attendance by the temple of Mecca His profession was that of a shoemaker and he was the disciple of Muhammad-b-Mansur Tusi He associated with Zu'n Nun of Egypt, Sariy Sakatiy, Abu Ubayd Basri, and Bishr Al Haj, and derived much spiritual instruction from them He is the author of four hundred works Those uninstructed in his doctrine believed him to be an infidel He died in A H 286 (A D 899) Khwājah Abdu'llah Ansāri says that he knew none of the great doctors more profoundly versed in the mysteries of the Divine Unity

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245 (A D 860) and a flock of birds of a kind never before observed fluttered over his bier when carried to the grave On the day following his burial was found written on his tomb-stone in characters dissimilar to those used among men ' Zu'n Nun, the friend of God and slain by this love of God As often as this was erased it was found ever freshly engraved *Ency Islam*, i 963, under *Dhu'l Nun*

The NINTH invoke Abu Abdu'llah Muhammad-b-Khafif His father was from Shirāz and he himself was the disciple of Shaykh Abu Tālib. He was master of secular and spiritual science and had seen Khazraj al Baghdādi and Ruyam, and was a contemporary of (Abu Bakr) Kattāni, Yusuf-b-Husayn Rāzi, Abu Husayn Māliki, Abu Husayn al Muzayyan, Abu Husayn Darrāj and many others of note. He wrote many works and died in the year A H 331 (A D 942-43)

The TENTH trace back to Abu'l Abbās Sayyāri His name was Qāsim and he was the son of the daughter of Ahmad-b-Sayyār He was a native of Marv and the disciple of Abu Bakr Wāsiti He pursued the ordinary curriculum of worldly studies as well as speculative science, and attained to an eminence in the practice of the spiritual life He died in the year A H 342 (A D 953)

The ELEVENTH The founder of this order was Halmān of Damascus

The TWELFTH This order had its origin in a Persian who was one of the disciples of Husayn-b-Mansur Hallāj of Baghdad,[8] not the celebrated Husayn-b-Mansur (of Bayzā)

These last two have been the subject of much reviling.

In Hindustan fourteen orders are recounted which are styled the fourteen *families* and of these twelve only are described, omitting mention of those of Tayfur and Junayd

(1) Habibi (2) Tayfuri (3) Karkhi (4) Saqatiy (5) Junaydi. [P. 210] (6) Kāzruni (7) Tusi. (8) Firdausi (9) Suhrawardi (10) Zaydi (11) I'yāzi. (12) Adhami (13) Hubayri (14) Chishti

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[8] He was crucified alive for three days from early morning till midday by order of the Caliph Al Muqtadir in A H 309 (A D 922) He was accused of blasphemy for his words 'Ana'l Haqq" "I am the Truth," by which he was supposed to claim divinity The best accounts of Hallāj are in *Ency Islam* (ii 239) and Hastings *Ency* vi 480-482 [J S]

They assert that Alı, the Prince of the Faithful, had four vicegerents, *viz*, Hasan, Husayn, Kamıl, and Hasan Basrı The source of these orders they believe to be Hasan Basrı who had two representatives, Habıb-ı-Ajamı, from whom the first nine obtain their spiritual fervour, and the other Abdu'l Wāhıd-b-Zayd, from whom the last five are filled with consolation The mother of Hasan Basrı was one of the slave girls of Ummu Salımah,[9] and he received his name from Omar-b-Kattab He early became an orphan From the dawn of intelligence his mind was illumined and through this brilliant destiny he chose the path of solitude and emaciated himself by austerities while he became filled with the good things of the spirit He preached a discourse every week and gathered an assembly around him When Rābı'ah was not present, he would not proceed The people said to him, "Why dost thou desist because some old woman does not come" He answered, "The food prepared for elephants is of no profit to ants"

The FIRST order trace their connection with Habıb-ı-Ajamı He was a man of substance and hypocritical in his life His eyes were opened somewhat by Suhrawardı[10] and he was directed to the true faith by Hasan Basrı Many disciples were instructed by him in the way of salvation Once when he was escaping from the pursuivants of Hajjaj, he arrived at the cell of Habıb The officers asked him where Hasan

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[9] Hind, the daughter of Abu Umayyah, and the latest survivor of the wives of Muhammad She died in A H 59 (A D 678) An Nawawı in his *Tahzibu'l Asma* (correctio nominum) says, that the mother of Hasan of Basrah was the favourite slave or freed woman of Ummu-Salımah, and Hasan was born to her two years before the close of the Caliphate of Omar (A H 21) When the mother was occasionally obliged to leave her infant, Ummu Salımah would nurse it from her own bosom, and it was through the blessing of this privilege that he afterwards attained to his eminence of wisdom and sanctity He died in A, H 110 (A D 728)

[10] Suhrawardı (Umar) in *Ency. Islam*, iv 506

was. He replied within the cell They searched, but could not find him and reprimanded Habib and said, "Whatever Hajjāj may do to you, will be deserved" He answered, "I have spoken only the truth If you have not seen him what fault is it of mine?" They again entered and made a strict search and returned in anger and departed reviling him, Hasan thereupon came forth and said, "O Habib, thou hast, indeed, truly done thy duty by thy master" He answered, "O master, thou hast been saved by the telling of the truth Had I spoken falsely we should both have been killed" One night a needle fell from his hand in a dark room A miraculous light shone He covered his eyes with his hands and said, "Nay, nay, I wish not to search for a needle save by the light of a lamp"

The THIRD order derive from Maruf Karkhi They say that his father was a Christian and changed his faith under Imām Rizā and was honoured with the office of his door-keeper He associated with Dāud Tāi and practised mortification and through his rectitude of intention and perfected acts he rose to be a spiritual guide Sariy Saqatiy and many others profited by his instruction He died in A H 200 (A D 815) It was about this time that Magians, Christians, and Jews thronged to him and each wished to practise his own faith under his direction, but it could not be carried out Nevertheless he held a place in the pleasant retreat of universal tolerance [P 211]

The FOURTH follow Sariy Saqatiy whose patronymic is Abu'l Hasan He is one of the great masters of the practical religious life and was the director of Junayd and many other servants of God He was one of the associates of Hārith Muhāsibi and Bishr al Hāfi, and was the disciple of Maruf Karkhi. Adequate praise of him is beyond the capacity of my ignorance In the year A H. 253 (A.D 867), he gathered up his garment from this dust-heap of a world.

The SIXTH acknowledge Abu Ishāq-b-Shahryār as their head His father abandoned the doctrines of Zoroaster and embraced the creed of Islām He was instructed by Shaykh Abu Ali Firozābādi and was the contemporary of many doctors of the faith and had mastered all secular and speculative science He was released from the turmoils of earth in A H. 426 (A D 1034-35)

The SEVENTH was founded by Alāu'ddin Tusi, who was united in the bonds of a spiritual paternity with Shaykh Najmu'ddin Kubra

The EIGHTH invoke Shaykh Najmu'ddin Kubra His patronymic was Abu Janāb, his name Ahmad Khiwaki, and his title *Kubra*, or the Greater [11] He was spiritually directed by Shaykh Ismāil Kasri, Ammār Yāsir and Rozbihān, and he had great repute for his insight into matters of the exterior and inner life Shaykh Majdu'ddin Baghdādi, Shaykh Saadu'ddin Hammawiyah, Shaykh Raziu'ddin Ali Lālā, Bābā Kamāl Jandi, Shaykh Sayfu'ddin Bakharzi and many other religious obtained their eternal salvation through his efficacious prayers He died by the sword in A H 618 (A D 1221)

The NINTH is favoured through Shaykh Ziau'ddin Abu'n Najib 'Abdu'l Qāhir Suhrawardi He was versed in the knowledge of the world and the spirit, and traced his descent from Abu Bakr as Siddiq by twelve intermediary links His doctrinal precepts he derived in direct transmission from Shaykh Ahmad Ghazzāli, and he was the author of many works, among them the *Adābu'l Muridin* (*Institutiones Discipulorum*) He passed to his heavenly abode in A. H 563 (A D 1167-68)

The TENTH follow Shaykh Abdu l Wāhid-b-Zayd

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[11] Because in all controversies, says Jāmi, in which he was engaged in his youth, he was ever triumphant, and so received the appellation He was killed by the Tartars on their invasion of Khwārzam after the flight of Muhammad Khwārzam Shah

The ELEVENTH acknowledge Fuzayl-b-I'yāz His patronymic is Abu Ali and he was a native of Kufah, but according to others of Bokhārā, and other places are also named He passed his days as a wandering dervish between Marv and Bāward (Abiward), and from his natural goodness of disposition, received interior illumination and his virtuous conduct assured his salvation He passed from the world in A H 187 (A D 802-3)

The TWELFTH take Ibrāhim Adham of Balkh as their guide His patronymic was Abu Ishāq His ancestors were of princely race and the star of his happy destiny shone forth from his early youth, for he withdrew himself altogether from the world He associated with Abu Sufyān Thauri, Fuzayl-b-I'yāz, Abu Yusuf Ghasuli and was in intimacy with Ali-b-Bakkār, Huzayfah Marashi and Silm-al-Khawwas He died in Syria in the year A H 161 or 162 (A D 777-78-79)

The THIRTEENTH trace back to Hubayrah of Basrah

The FOURTEENTH are connected with Abu Ishāq Shāmi who was the disciple of Shaykh U'luw Dinawari When the Shaykh arrived at [212] the village of Chisht, Khwājah Abu Ahmad Abdāl, who was the foremost among the Shaykhs of Chisht received instruction from him, and after him his son Muhammad illumined the lamp of sanctity Following him, his nephew Khwājah Samaāni carried on the doctrine, whose son Khwājah Maudud Chishti succeeded to the leadership His son Khwājah Ahmad also reached the same eminence

There is, however, no exclusive claim in regard to either of these two lists Any chosen soul who, in the mortification of the deceitful spirit and in the worship of God, introduced some new motive of conduct, and whose spiritual sons in succession continued to keep alight the lamp of doctrine, was acknowledged as the founder of a new line, for besides these twelve and fourteen orders, many another catena of religious schools has a worldwide repute, such as the

QADIRI[12]

which follows Shaykh Muhyi'ddin Abdu'l Qādir Jili He was a Sayyid descended from Husayn Jil is the name of a village near Baghdad Some authorities[13] state that he was from Jilān He was supreme in his time for his secular and spiritual knowledge He received his dervish's habit from the hands of Abu Said al-Mubārak (b Ali al-Makhzumi), and is thus spiritually connected with ash-Shibli through four intermediaries His sanctity and extraordinary miracles are world-famed He was born into the world in A H 471 (A D 1078), and bade farewell to it in A H 561 (A D 1165)

YASAWI.

These are disciples of Khwājah Ahmad Yasawi In his youth he was under the supervision of Bab Arslān, who was an eminent spiritual guide among the Turks On his death he profited by the instruction of Khwājah Yusuf Hamadāni The Turks call him Atā Yasawi, Atā in Turkish signifying a father, and their saints are thus designated He returned to Turkistān at the command of the Khwājah and ended his days in the spiritual instruction of the people Many miracles are reported of him Four spiritual delegates are celebrated as religious guides Mansur Atā, Said Ata, Sulaymān Atā, and Hakim Atā Yasi is a town in Turkistān, the birthplace and town of this Shaykh

[12] The references to the saints that follow are given here in one place *Ency Islam*, ii 608-611 (Qādiri), iii 841 (Naqshbandi), Suppl 183 (Baba Ratan), i 862 (Muin Chishti), iv 290 (Farid-ud-din Shakar-ganj), iii 932 (Nizamuddin Auliya), ii 152 (Shah Madar under Ghazi Miyan) ii 861-865 (Khizr under al-Khadir), iii 687 (Md Ghaus Gwaliyari)

For the saints and martyrs of Islam in India, Hastings, *Encyclo Religion* xi 63-73 (T W Arnold)

[13] Among them Jāmi from whom this notice is taken In his infancy he refused his mother s milk at the appearance of the new moon on the fast of the Ramazān a cow that he was tending in his youth addressed him in Arabic and inspired him with his vocation he fasted for 40 days These are some of the miracles reported by Jami

NAQSHBANDI [14]

This school owe their eternal salvation to Khwājah Bahā u'ddin Naqshband His name was Muhammad-b-Muhammad al-Bokhāri He was a disciple of Khwājah Muhammad Bābā Sammāsi and received his religious instruction in regard to exterior conduct from (Sayyid) Amir Kulāl, his delegate Khwājah Sammāsi used often to say to Khwājah Ali Rāmithani, [universally known as (Hazrat) Azizān] as they passed in the vicinity of Qasr-i-Hinduān, "From this soil there comes the fragrance of a man that will soon make the Qasr-i-Hinduān (Castle of Hinduān), be called the Qasr-i-Aārifān (Castle of the Pious)," till one day coming from the house of (Sayyid) Amir Kulāl and passing the castle, he exclaimed, "The fragrance has increased—that man verily has been born " On inquiry it was found that three days had elapsed since the birth of the Khwājah His father carried him to the Bābā, who said that he would adopt him as his spiritual son, and turning to his friends said "This is the one whose fragrance I smelt, and who will be the spiritual guide of the world " To Amir Kulāl he said, "Withhold no care or kindness in the bringing up [213] of our son Bahāu'ddin " His orders were carried out After a time when his fame grew, Bābā Sammāsi said to him "Your zeal has a loftier flight You have my permission to go and beg of other souls " Thereupon he went to Qutham Shaykh and attended his instruction, and profited by the guidance of Khalil Atā and realised his purpose through the spiritual aid of Khwājah Abd u'l Khāliq Ghujduwāni The source of his interior illumination was (the prophet) Khizr, his faith and discipline were derived from Khwājah Yusuf Hamadani Khwājah Yusuf had four vicegerents, Khwājah Abdu'llah Barqi,

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[14] This account has been taken from Jāmi s notices of Khwājah Muhammad Bābā Sammāsi and Bahāu'ddin Naqshbandi to which I refer the reader for those of the other doctors herein named

Khwājah Hasan Andaki,[15] Khwājah Ahmad Yasawi, and Khwājah Abdu'l Khāliq Ghujduwāni Khwājah Yusuf had received instructions from Shaykh Abu Ali Fārmidi, and he from Shaykh Abu'l Qāsim Gurgāni The latter was the disciple of the following two personages, Junayd and Shaykh Abu'l Hasan Kharaqāni, and these of Bāyazid Bistāmi, and Bāyazid of the Imām Jaafar as-Sādiq [16] The Imām was himself nourished from two sources, on the one side from his father Muhammad Bāqir, and he, from his father Imāmi Zaynu'l Aābidin, and he from his grand-parent the Imām Husayn, and on the other from his mother's father Qāsim-b-Muhammad-b-Abu Bakr, and Qāsim from Salmān al-Fārsi (the companion) and Salmān[17] from Abu Bakr

It is said that Khwājah Bahāu'ddin had neither a slave nor a handmaid, and when asked the reason of this, he replied that ("the maintenance of) bondage was incompatible with the profession of a religious teacher" They inquired

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[15] Ghujduwān is a small town in Bokhāra Yāqut
Andaq is ten parasangs from Bokhārā Fārmid is one of the towns of Tus Kharaqān is one of the Bistām villages on the road to Astarābād where, in Yakut's time, was still to be seen the tomb of Abu l Hasan who died on the 10th of Muharram, A H 425 (A D 1033), at the age of 73

[16] The Imām Abu Abdu'llah Jaafar as-Sādiq (the Veracious), fourth in descent from Ali-b-Abi Tālib, born A H 80 (A D 699) died and buried at Medina A H 148 (A D 765) The same tomb contains the bodies of his father Muhd al-Bāqir, his grand father Ali Zaynu'l Aābidin, and his grand-father's uncle al-Hasan, son of Ali "How rich a tomb," says Ibn Khallikān "in generosity and nobility" See *Ency Islam*, i 993 under Djafar bin Md

[17] He was a freedman of Muhammad , his name Abu Abdu'llah Salmān al-Khayr, or the Good, a native of Tayy, one of the villages of Ispahān , others say from Rāma Hurmuz His father was headman of the village and a Magian The youth fled from his home and fell in with some monks, in whose company he remained till their death The last of them directed him to go to Hijāz and foretold the coming of a prophet He travelled thither with some Arabs who sold him to a Jew of Quraydha at Wādi'l Qura, who took him to Medina There he met Muhammad and recognized his prophetic mission, from his signet ring, and from an alms twice offered to him which were the three signs announced to him by the last of the monks He is said to have been one of the most learned, pious and liberal of the companions.

of him "To what stage does your spiritual ancestry go back?" He replied, "No one reaches any stage by virtue of a spiritual ancestry" On the night of Monday, 3rd Rabii' I, A H 791, (4th March, A D 1389) he disburdened himself of his elemental body

The case of these orders is similar to that of the four schools of theology Any one reaching the rank of *Mujtahid* may become a doctrinal authority, and there is no difficulty in the recognition of this as fourfold

But it is better that I should desist from further details and seek the divine mercy by mentioning the Saints of God In the following enumeration, under the title of "Saints", I have recorded the names of forty-eight only among thousands, and make this a means towards the attainment of eternal bliss

SHAYKH BABA RATN

Was the son of Nasrat-Tabrindi, his patronymic was Abu'l Rizā In the time of Ignorance he was born at Tabrindah and went to Hijāz and saw the Prophet, and after many wanderings returned to India Many accepted the accounts he related, while others rejected them as the garrulity of senile age He died at Tabarindah, in A H 700 (A D 1300-1), and was there buried Shaykh Ibn i Hajr Asqalāni, Majdu'ddin Firozābādi, Shaykh Alā u' ddaulah as Simnāni, Khwājah Muhammad Pārsā and many pious individuals acknowledged and commended him

KHWAJAH MUINU'DDIN HASAN CHISHTI

Was the son of Ghiyāsu'ddin Hasan and a Sayyid in descent from both Hasan and Husayn, and was born in A H 537 (A D 1142), in the village of Sijz, of the province of Sijistān

[214] At the age of fifteen he lost his father Ibrāhim Qahandazi, a man absorbed in divine things, regarded him with an eye of favour and set aflame the gathered harvest of wordliness with the fire of divine ardour, and guided him in his quest In Harun, a village of Nishāpur, he attended Khwājah Othmān Chishti, and practised a mortified life and received the habit of *Khalifah* or vicegerent Subsequently he reached a higher degree of perfection and was spiritually benefited by Shaykh Abdu'l Qadir Jili and other holy men In the year that Mu'izzu'ddin Sām took Delhi (A H 589, A D 1193), he arrived at that city, and with a view to a life of seclusion withdrew to Ajmer and there inspired the same zeal among numerous disciples by his own efficacious will He shared the reward of a heavenly kingdom on Saturday, the 6th of Rajab, A H 633 (18th March 1236) His resting place is at the foot of the hilly range of that district and is visited to this day by high and low

SHAYKH ALI GHAZNAVI HAJUBARI

His patronymic was Abu'l Hasan His father was Othmān-b-Abi Ali Jullābi He lived secluded from ordinary worldly concerns and obtained a high degree of knowledge An account of him is given in the *Kashfu'l Mahjub li Arbābi'l Qulub* (delectio eorum qui relata sunt in favorem cordatorum) [18] In this work he says, "I followed in this path Shaykh Abu'l Fazl-b-Hasan al Khatli " His resting place is in Lāhor

SHAYKH HUSAYN ZANJANI

A man of extensive erudition Khwājah Mu'in'uddin attended his instructions at Lāhor where his tomb is, and which is visited by many to the gain of their eternal welfare

[18] A work on Sufism by Shaykh Abu l Hasan Ali b Othmān al Ghaznavi Khatli is the relative adjective of Khatlān, a province in Transoxiana near Samarqand

SHAYKH BAHAU'DDIN ZAKARIYA[10]

Was the son of Wajihu'ddin Muhammad-b-Kamālu'ddin Ali Shāh Qurayshi, and was born at Kot Karor, near Multān, in A H. 565 (A D 1169-70) His father died when he was a child, he grew in wisdom and studied in Turān and Irān He received his doctrine from Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Suhrawardi at Baghdad and reached the degree of vicegerent He was on terms of great friendship with Shaykh Farid (u'ddin) Shakkarganj, and lived with him for a considerable time Shaykh (Fakhru'ddin) I'rāqi and Mir Husayni were his disciples On the 7th of Safar, A H 665 (7th November 1266), an aged person of serene aspect sent in to him a sealed letter by the hand of his son Sadru'ddin He read it and gave up the ghost, and a loud voice was heard from the four corners of the town "Friend is united to Friend " His resting place is in Multān

QUTBU'DDIN BAKHTIYAR KAKI

Was the son of Kamālu'ddin Musa and came from Ush of Farghānah He lost his father when very young and privileged by the vision of (the Prophet) Khizr was keenly desirous of meeting with a spiritual guide till the arrival in Ush of Khwajah Mu'inu'ddin At the age of eighteen he received his doctrine and became a vicegerent He profited by the instruction of many saints at Baghdad and other places In the desire of [P 215] meeting with a holy director he came to India and for a time attended Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā He arrived in Delhi in the reign of Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish The Khwājah (Mu'inu'ddin) went there on a

[10] Ferishta who has a long monograph on him, says that he left seven million *tankahs* to his son Sadru'ddin, besides other furniture and goods which the latter gave away on the very first day of possession Being asked why he so disposed of wealth amassed by his father and given in due measure to the poor, he replied that his father had sufficiently conquered himself to have no fear of an improper use of it, whereas he himself, not so advanced in sanctity dreaded the temptation

visit to him and after a little, left him and returned. He was of great service to the people in general He died on the 14th of Rabii' I, A H 633 (Saturday, 27th November, A.D 1235) His tomb is in Delhi where it is visited by all classes

SHAYKH FARIDU'DDIN GANJ I SHAKKAR

Was the son of Jamālu'ddin Sulaymān, a descendant of Farrukh Shāh Kābuli His birthplace was the village of Khotwal, near Multān In his early youth he followed the common course of studies At Multān he met Khwājah Qutbu'ddin, went with him to Delhi and was instructed in his doctrine Some authorities state that he did not accompany him to Delhi, but took his leave on the way and hastened to Qandahār and Sistān, where he set himself to the garnering of knowledge He then came to Delhi and put himself under disciplinary rule He had many warrings with the spirit in which he eventually triumphed When Khwājah Qutbu'ddin was on the point of death, there were present Qāzi Hamidu'ddin Nāgori, Shaykh Badru'ddin Ghaznavi and many other holy men They agreed that the habit and other personal belongings of the dying man should be committed to Shaykh Faridu'ddin The Shaykh who was then at the town of Jhānsi, on hearing this, went to Delhi, and taking possession of the trust, returned He was the source of blessings to many people He bade farewell to this fleeting world on the 5th of Muharram, A H 668 (Monday, 5th September, 1269), at (Pāk) Pattan in the Panjāb, which at that time was called Ajodhan [26]

[26] Ferishta gives various accounts of the derivation of his epithet *Ganj i Shakkar*, (the treasure-house of sweets) Once on going to see his spiritual director, being weak from fasting, his foot slipped and he fell in the mud, it being the rainy season Some of the mud entered his mouth and was changed into sugar His director, on his arrival, had preter-natural intuition of the event, and told him that the Almighty had, probably, designed him to be a store-house of sweet things and would preserve him in this condition On his return home, he found that this epithet had spread

Shaykh Sadru'ddin Aarif

Was the son of Shaykh Bahāu'ddin During his father's life-time he reached the highest degree of sanctity Sayyids Fakhru'ddin Irāqi and Mir Husayn yere his disciples He died in Multān, where he is buried, in A H 709 (A.D 1309)

Nizamu'ddin Auliya

His name was Muhammad and he was the son of Ahmad Dānyāl who came from Ghaznin to Badāon in A H 632 (A D 1234-35), where Nizāmu'ddin was born For a time he went through the ordinary course of studies and received the epithet of Nizām *al-Bahhāth*, or the Controversialist, and *Mahfil Shikan*, the Assembly-router At the age of twenty he went to Ajodhan and became the disciple of Faridu'ddin Ganj i Shakkar and obtained the key of the treasury of inward illumination He was then sent to Delhi to instruct the people, and many under his direction attained to the heights of sanctity, such as Shaykh Nasiru'ddin Muhammad Chirāgh i Dilhi, Mir Khusrau, Shaykh Alāu'l Haqq, Shaykh Akhi Sirāj, in Bengal, Shaykh Wajihu'ddin Yusuf in Chanderi, Shaykh Yakub and Shaykh Kamāl in Mālwah, Maulānā Ghiyās in Dhār, Maulānā Mughis in Ujjain, Shaykh Husain in Gujarāt, Shaykh Burhānu'ddin Gharib, [216] Shaykh Muntakhab, Khwājah Hasan, in the Dekhan He died in the forenoon of Wednesday, the 18th Rabii' II, A H 725 (3rd April 1325) His tomb is in Delhi [21]

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among the people who designated him by it Another account is that meeting with some *banjārās* who were taking salt to Delhi, they asked him to bless their bales that they might sell with profit He did so, and on their arrival the sacks were discovered to be full of sugar

[21] "In Ghiyāspur," says Ferishta, "which is one of the quarters of new Delhi" He relates that Ghiyāsu'ddin Tughlak Shāh who then reigned at Delhi, though outwardly treating Nizāmu'ddin with consideration, was in reality displeased with him When about to return from his expedition to Bengal he sent a message to the Shaykh directing him not to await his arrival at Delhi, and that henceforth he was no longer to remain in Ghiyāspur The Shaykh

SHAYKH RUKNU'DDIN

Was the son of Sadru ddin Aārif and the successor of his eminent grandfather [Bahā-ud-din Zakariya] At the time when Sultān Qutbu'ddin (Mubārak Shāh Khilji, A.H 717 (A.D 1317) regarded Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin with dis favour, he summoned Shaykh Ruknu'ddin from Multān in the hope of disturbing his influence On his arrival near Delhi he met Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin Qutbu'ddin on receiving the Shaykh (Ruknu ddin) asked him "Who among the people of the city was the foremost in going out to met him?" He replied "The most eminent person of his age" By this happy answer he removed the king's displeasure His resting place is Multān

SHAYKH JALALU'DDIN TABRIZI

Was the disciple of Said Tabrizi After some wanderings, he fell in with Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Suhrawardi and by his zealous service attained the office of vicegerent He was on terms of intimacy with Khwājah Qutbu'ddin and Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā Shaykh Najmu'ddin Sughra, who was Shaykh u'l Islam at Delhi, bore enmity against him and maliciously incited a disreputable woman to accuse the Shaykh of incontinence Through the miraculous powers of Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā, the falsehood of the charge was established He then went to Bengal His tomb is in the port of Dev Mahal

SHAYKH SUFI BADHNI

His birthplace was Oudh He lived a life of extraordinary abstraction, heedless of all save the worship of God

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replied, *hanuz Dilhi dur ast* Delhi is still far off Before the king's arrival in Delhi while at Afghānpur, the building which had been raised by Alāf Khān for his reception, fell upon the king and crushed him in the ruins, in Rabi' I, A H 725 The proverb *Dilhi dur ast* owes its origin to this event

It is said that Khwājah Qutubu'ddin and he, with a number of others, were taken prisoners by the Mughals Hunger and thirst drove the captives to the greatest straits It was then that the Khwājah, by supernatural power, drew forth from his wallet warm cakes (*kāk*), with which he supplied each one of the party, while the Sufi gave them all to drink from his broken water-vessel (*badhnā*) From this circumstance the Khwājah was called *Kāki*, and the other *Badhni*

KHWAJAH KARAK

One of the greatest of the ascetics He lived apart from worldly intercourse and passed his days in ruined places Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi sent him the habit of a recluse, which he took and threw into the fire The bearer reviled him to the Khwajah who replied, "Go and demand it back, so that thou mayest know what has in reality happened " When he made his request, Khwājah Karak said, "Go, and take out a cloak from the fireplace, but only your own " When he went to look, he found that habit among many others, and repented of his conduct His tomb is at Karrah, Mānikpur [P 217]

SHAYKH NIZAMU'DDIN ABU'L MUAYYAD

He stood in the relation of a disciple to his maternal uncle Shaykh Shihābu ddin Ahmad Ghaznavi and flourished during the reign of Shamsu'ddin Iltutmish. Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi and Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin Auliyā, both considered an interview with him as a great happiness

SHAYKH NAJIBU'DDIN MUHAMMAD

Was the disciple of Shaykh Badru'ddin Firdausi of Samarqand, who was the ***khalifah*** or vicegerent of Shaykh Sayfu'ddin Bākharzi, who held the same relation to Shaykh Najmu'ddin Kubra From thence he came to Delhi and for

a time directed the consciences of men, and there died Some say that he and Shaykh I'madu'ddin Tusi were the disciples and vicegerents of Shaykh Ruknu'ddin Firdausi

QAZI HAMIDU'DDIN NAGORI

Was the son of Atāu'ddin of Bokhārā, where he was born In the reign of Mu'izzu'ddin Sām he came to Delhi with his father, and for three years held the office of Qāzi at Nāgor Unexpectedly the desire of a life of retirement seized him Abandoning the world he journeyed to Baghdad and became the disciple of Shaykh Shihābu'ddin Suhrawardi There he entered into intimate friendship with Khwājah Qutbu'ddin and after travelling to Hijaz came to Delhi He died on the night of the 5th of Ramazān, A H 644 (Sunday, 9th November, A D 1246) without any previous ill ness, He is buried in Delhi

SHAYKH HAMIDU DDIN SUWALI OF NAGOR

Was the son of Shaykh Ahmad In his early youth he was handsome and rich, but in pursuit of the truth he abandoned the world and applied himself to the practice of austerities He wore the mantle of discipleship under Khwājah Mu'inu'ddin and attained a high degree of perfec tion He was styled *Sultān u't-Tārikin*, the King of Recluses He rolled up the carpet of life on the 29th Rabi' II, A H 673 (31st October 1274) His resting place is in Nāgor

SHAYKH NAJIBU'DDIN MUTAWAKKIL

Was the brother and disciple of Shaykh Faridu'ddin Ganj i Shakkar Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin used to say "When I left Badāon for Delhi desiring to pay my respects to Ganj Shakkar, I met Najibu'ddin and was much benefited by his society." He died on the 9th of Ramazān, A H. 660 (27th July 1261) [P 218]

SHAYKH BADRU'DDIN

His birthplace was Ghaznah In a dream he received he discipleship of Khawājah Qutbu'ddin Ushi, and abandoning all, undertook the toil of a journey in quest of the holy man In Delhi his desires were fulfilled and he received he office of vicegerent Qāzi Hāmidu'ddin, Shaykh Farid i'ddin Ganj i Shakkar, Sayyid Mubārak Ghaznavi, Maulānā Majdu'ddin Jurjāni, Shaykh Ziyāu'ddin Dihlavi, and other eminent personages received the blessing of his instructions n his old age when he was unable to move, the sound of a hymn would excite him to ecstasy and he would dance like a youth. When asked how it was that the Shaykh could dance notwithstanding his decrepitude, he replied "Where is the Shaykh? It is Love that dances" His resting-place is at the oot of his own master's grave

SHAYKH BADRU'DDIN ISHAQ

Was the son of Minhāju'ddin Bokhāri, but some say he was the son of Ali-b-Ishāq, of Delhi, where he was born He went through the usual course of studies, but some speculative difficulties not being solved in this country he set out for Bokhārā At Ajodhan, in intercourse with Ganj i Shakkar, his doubts were removed, and becoming his disciple he set himself to mortify his senses The Shaykh conferred on him the distinction of being both his vicegerent and his son-in-law He was buried in that place

SHAYKH NASIRU'DDIN CHIRAGH-I-DIHLAVI, OR THE LAMP OF DELHI

His name was Mahmud and his birthplace Delhi He was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin Auliya He departed from this world that all must leave on the 1st of Ramazān, A H 757, (2nd Sept 1356)

SHAYKH SHARAF (U'DDIN) OF PANIPAT

His patronymic was Abu Ali Qalandar He lived as a recluse and in one of his writings he says of himself "At the age of forty I came to Delhi and received instruction under Khwājah Qutbu'ddin Maulānā Wajihu'ddin Pāili, Maulānā Sadru'ddin, Maulānā Fakhru'ddin Nāfilah, Maulānā Nāsiru'ddin, Maulānā Mu'inu'ddin Daulatābādi, Maulānā Najibu'ddin Samarqandi, Maulānā Qutbu'ddin of Mecca, Maulānā Ahmad Khansāri and other learned men of the day gave me a license to teach and to pronounce judicial decisions, which offices I exercised for twenty years Unexpectedly I received a call from God, and throwing all my learned books into the Jumna, I set out on travel In Roumelia I fell in with Shamsu'ddin Tabrizi and Maulānā Jalālu'ddin Rumi who presented me with a robe and turban and with many books, which in their presence I threw into the river Subsequently I came to Pānipat and there lived as a recluse " His tomb is there

SHAYKH AHMAD

His birthplace was Nahrwālah, commonly known as Pattan He became the disciple of Hamidu'ddin Nāgori and attained the high rank of a vicegerent, Shaykh Bahāu'ddin Zakariyā who was difficult to please, much commended him He was buried at Badāon

SHAYKH JALAL

Was the son of Sayyid Mahmud-b-Sayyid Jalālu'ddin Bokhāri He was universally known as *Makhdum i Jahāniyān* (lord of mankind)

He was born on the *Shab-i-Barāt*, 14th Shaabān, A. H 707, (7th Feb , A D 1307) He was the disciple of his father and received a vicegerency from Shaykh Ruknu'ddin Abu'l Fath Suhrawardi It is said [219] that he journeyed much

and had intercourse with Imām Yāfai and many others He visited Shaykh Nasiru'ddin Chirāgh i Dihlavi, and became a vicegerent in the Chisht family He put off his earthly body on Thursday, the Id-i-Qurbān, 10th Zil Hijjah, A H. 785, (2nd Feb , A D 1383) He was buried al Uchh, near Multān [22]

SHAYKH SHARAFU'DDIN MUNIRI

Was the son of Yahya-b-Israil, the head of the Chishtis He was instructed under Ganj i Shakkar His childhood passed, he practised a life of austerity in the hills, and in the desire of seeing Shaykh Nizām Auliyā, he went to Delhi with his eldest brother, Shaykh Jalālu'ddin Muhammad The Shaykh meanwhile had died, but others affirm that he saw him and by his direction went to Najibu'ddin Firdausi, and after discipleship became his vicegerent Shaykh Shamsu'ddin Muzaffar of Balkh and Shaykh Jalālu ddin Awadhi, called also Jamāl Qitāl, received the vicegerency from him He left many works, and amongst them his writings on the mortification of the spirit are in use as exercises His burial-place is in Behār

SHAYKH JAMALU'DDIN HANSAWI

Was the descendant of Abu Hanifah of Kufah His profession was to deliver discourses and pronounce judical decisions, but renouncing this office he became the disciple of Shaykh Farid Ganj i Shakkar and reached a high degree of virtue To whomsoever the Shaykh Farid gave a certificate of vicegerency, he would send him to Jamālu'ddin on whose approval the certificate took effect If he did not approve the Shaykyh would say that what Jamāl tore up Farid could not repair. He was buried in Hānsi

[22] According to Beale he is the founder of the Malang and Jalāliya Fakirs, and his memoirs, called the Kitāb-i-Kutbi, have been written by one of his disciples

SHAH MADAR.

His title was Badii'u'ddin High and low throughout Hindustan have great devotion to him and attest his great sanctity They say that he was the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad Tayfuri Bistami He never wore garments of rich texture and he held aloof from men Every Monday his doors used to be open and a crowd of suppliants collected As the people respectfully kept back, it was his custom to recite some story in which those who sought advice received their answer, and whoever heard the response which befitted his case, he rose blessing him Strange tales are told of him The Madāri order take their origin from him His resting-place is in Makanpur

On the anniversary of his decease every year, crowds of people from distant parts flock thither, carrying banners of all colours, and recite his praises Qāzi Shihābu'ddin in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqi had a quarrel with him of which he found reason to repent

SHAYKH NUR QUTB-I-AALAM

[220] Was the son of Shaykh Alāu'l Haqq His true name is Shaykh Nuru'ddin Ahmad-b-O'mar Asad, and he was born at Lāhor He was the disciple and vicegerent of his eminent father, who received the vicegerency from Shaykh Akhi Sirāj He in some degree attained to the knowledge of the Ineffable Mystery and became a mystic of exalted degree, as his works and some of his letters, in themselves, testify Shaykh Husām-u'ddin Mānikpuri was his vicegerent He died in A H 808 (A D , 1405), and was buried at Panduah

BABA ISHAQ MAGHRABI

Was born at Delhi and was the disciple of Hāji Shaykh Muhammad Kimi His line of succession through some few

intermediaries, traces back to Junayd Shaykh Ahmad Khattu thus writes "I went to Delhi in his company He showed me his old dwelling and said "At the age of twelve I set out in search of spiritual help from saintly souls and chosing the vocation of a recluse received instruction from many eminent persons, and in the city of Kim, in Mauritania, and in intercourse with Shaykh Muhammad who had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, I attained to the desire of my heart, and became a vicegerent " He returned to Delhi in the reign of Sultān Muhammad who received him with much honour Khwājah Mu'inu'ddin instructed him in a vision to retire to Khattu in seclusion, and he followed this direction

SHAYKH AHMAD KHATTU

His title was Jamālu'ddin and he was born at Delhi, in A H 737 (A D 1336), of a noble family of that city He was the disciple and vicegerent of Bābā Ishāq Maghrabi His name was Nasiru'ddin By a freak of fortune he was carried away from his dwelling in a tempest of wind After a time he was blessed with the instruction of Bābā Ishāq Maghrabi and garnered a store of secular and theological learning In the reign of Sultān Ahmad Gujarāti (A D (1411-43), he came to Gujarāt where all classes received him with respect and were loud in his praise He subsequently travelled in Arabia and Persia and met many eminent doctors He was buried in Sarkhech, near Ahmadābād

SHAYKH SADRU'DDIN

Was the son of Sayyid Ahmad Kabir-b-Sayyid Jalālu'-ddin Bokhāri, and was commonly known as Rāju Qitāl [23] He was the disciple and vice-gerent of his father and received also the latter distinction from his brother *Makhdum-i-*

[23] See Ferishta under Jalālu'ddin Husayn Bokhāri, for the history of the family

ahāniyān and Shaykh Ruknu'ddin Abu'l-Fath Sultān Firoz held him in great honour. He slept his last sleep in A H. 806 (A D 1403)

SHAYKH ALAU'DDIN MUHAMMAD

Was the grandson of Shaykh Faridu'ddin Ganj i Shakkar, and son of Badru'ddin Sulaymān. He was a man of holy and commendable life and attained to great spiritual eminence On his decease Sultān Muhammad Tughlak built a mausoleum over his remains ([P 221]

SAYYID MUHAMMAD GESUDARAZ (LONG HAIR)

Was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Nasiru'ddin Chirāgh-i-Dihli He became proficient in theology and secular knowledge and by the direction of his spiritual guide went from Delhi to the Dekhan, where he was received with honour by high and low He died in A H 825 (A D 1421-2), and was buried at Kulbargah [Gulbarga]

QUTB-I-AALAM

His patronymic was Abu Muhammad, and his title Burhānu'ddin He was the son of Shāh Muhammad-b-Sayyid Jalālu'ddin *Makhdum-i-Jahāniyān*, and was born in A H 790 (A D 1388) He was the disciple of his illustrious father and received the vicegerency from Shaykh Ahmad Khattu In the reign of Sultān Muhammad (Shāh Karim, A D 1443-51), the descendant of Sultān Muzaffar Shāh by two removes, by order of his father he came to Gujarāt and there became eminent in secular and speculative learning He died in A H 857 (A D 1453) His tomb is in Batwah, near Ahmadābād

SHAH AALAM

His name was Sayyid Muhammad, he was the son of Qutb-i-Aālam and was born on the 9th of Zu'lqaadah,

A.H. 817 (18th January 1415). He was the disciple of his father from whom he received the vicegerency and attained to eminent sanctity. Extraordinary miracles are related of him. His days came to an end on the 20th Jumāda II, A.H. 880 (21st Oct. 1475). He lies buried at Rasulābād, near Ahmadābād.

SHAYKH QUTBU'DDIN

Was the son of Shaykh Burhānu'ddin-b-Shaykh Jamāl u'ddin of Hānsi and the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Nizāmu'ddin Auliyā. He lived apart from men and took no presents from princes. Sultān Muhammad in person went to Hānsi and brought him to Delhi. He is buried at Hānsi.

SHAYKH ALI PAYRAV

Was the son of Maulānā Ahmad Mahāyami. He became proficient in worldly and spiritual knowledge and explained the mysteries after the manner of Shaykh Muhyi'ddin Arabi. He has left many works on theology, but most of them are no longer extant.

SAYYID MUHAMMAD JAUNPURI

Was the son of Sayyid Badh Uwaysi. He received instruction under many holy men and was learned in spiritual and secular knowledge. Carried away by extravagance he laid claim to be a *Mahdi* and many followers gathered round him and numerous miracles are ascribed to him. He is the origin of the *Mahdavis*. From Jaunpur he went to Gujarāt and was much in favour with Sultān Mahmud the Great. The narrow-mindedness of worldlings made India intolerable to him and he resolved to pass into Persia, but died at Farrah and was there buried.

[222] QAZI KHAN

His name was Yusuf and his birthplace Zafarābād He was the disciple and vicegerent of Shaykh Hasan Tāhir, surnamed Kamālu'l Haqq He was also the disciple of Hāji Hāmid who was the vicegerent of Husamu'ddin Mānikpuri He acquired secular and theological learning His spiritual guide, during his own lifetime, charged him with the superintendence of his vicegerents, and at his death entrusted to his care his own son Abdu'l Aziz On the 15th of Safar, A H 900 (13th November 1494), he rested from the troubles of the world

MIR SAYYID ALI QAWAM

His birthplace was Siwānah He was the disciple and vicegerent of Bahāu'ddin Jaunpuri Shattāri Some say that he was instructed by Shaykh Qāsā Shattāri, while others affirm that his connection with all spiritual families can be correctly proved In the year A H 905 (A D 1499), he passed from earth His restingplace is Jaunpur

QAZI MAHMUD

Was the son of Shaykh Jālindha-b-Muhammad Gujarāti He was born in Birpur He was the disciple of his father and received the mantle of vicegerency from Shāh Aālam Divine love filled his heart and many an edifying discourse fell from his lips From the age of eleven he was spiritually illumined, and wonderful accounts are given regarding him On the 13th Rabii' II of the year A H 942 (A D 1535) in which the Emperor Humāyun defeated Bahādur (Shāh) of Gujarāt, he passed to the other world and lies buried in Birpur

SHAYKH MAUDUD AL-LARI

Was the disciple of Bābā Nizām Abdāl. He went through the usual course of studies for a time under Maulānā

Abdu'l Ghafur of Lār and sought spiritual guidance from many souls He was thoroughly versed in the methods of exposition and exegesis of the schools and skilled in the complicated problems of philosophy, and he had met Shāh Niamatu'llah Wali and Shāh Qāsim Anwār He slept his last sleep in Ramazān A H 937 (A D 1530)

SHAYKH HAJI ABD'UL WAHHAB-AL-BOKHARI

Shaykh Jalālu'ddin Bokhāri had two sons Makhdum-i-Jahāniyān was the son of Sayyid Mahmud and this (Shaykh Hāji) was descended from (the other son), Sayyid Ahmad He was the disciple and pupil of Sayyid Sadru'ddin Bokhāri He was versed in secular and speculative science He died in A.H. 932 (A D. 1525-26) [P 223]

SHAYKH ABDU'R RAZZAQ

Was born at Jhanjhāna[24] and was the disciple and vicegerent of Shāh Muhammad Hasan and the son of Shaykh Hasan Tāhir At first he went through the usual course of studies which he abandoned for a higher aim He died in A H 949 (A D 1542), and was buried at Jhanjhāna

SHAYKH ABDU'L QUDDUS

He asserted himself to be a descendant of Abu Hanifah He was the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad-b-Shaykh Aārif-b-Shaykh Ahmad Abd'ul Haqq He acquired secular and spiritual learning and became eminent in theology Many of his mystical sayings are recorded The Emperor Humāyun with a few of the learned, visited him in his cell and an animated controversy took place He folded up the carpet of his life in A H 950 (A D 1543). He was buried at Gangoyah,[25] near Delhi

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[24] In the Muzaffarnagar dist , U P

[25] Gangoh, is a town in the Sahāranpur dist , U P It consists of an old and new quarter, the former founded by the legendary

SAYYID IBRAHIM

Was the son of Mu'ınu'ddın-b-Abdu'l Qādır Husaynı His bırthplace was Iraj He was the dıscıple of Shaykh Bahāu'ddın Qādırı Shattārı He was profıcıent ın all learnıng and rarely equalled for hıs good deeds He had travelled much, and ın the reıgn of Sultān Sikandar Lodı (A D 1517-40) went to Delhı Shaykh Abdu'llah of Delhı, Mıyān Lādan, Maulanā Abdu'l Qādır the soapmaker, and other celebrated doctors acknowledged hıs sanctıty He yıelded up hıs fleetıng lıfe ın A H 953 or 958 (A.D. 1546-51) He was burıed at Delhı

SHAYKH AMAN

Hıs name was Abdu'l Malık, son of Abdu'l Ghafur He was the dısciple of Shaykh Muhammad Hasan By the dırectıon of hıs master, he receıved varıous ınstructıon under Shaykh Muhammad Maudud al-Lārı He dıed on the 12th Rabıı' II, A H 958 (20th Aprıl, 1551).

SHAYKH JAMAL

Was the son of Shaykh Hamzah and hıs father's dıscıple He chiefly led a retıred life though among worldly occupatıons. He was buried at Dharsu

I think it fitting to conclude these notıces wıth an account of (the prophets) Khizr and Elıas, and thus supplıcate an endurıng remembrance.

KHIZR

Hıs name was Balyān, the son of Kalyān, the son of Fālıgh (Phaleg), the son of Aābır (Heber), the son of Shālıkh (Sale), the son of Arfakshad (Arphaxad), the son of Sām,

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hero Rājā Gang and the latter by Shaykh Abdu l Quddus who gıves hıs tıtle to the western suburb, where hıs tomb stıll stands among other sacred shrınes.

(Sem), the son of Nuh (Noe) Some [P 224] call him Kalyāan-b-Malkān, others Malkān, the son of Balyān, the son of Kalyān, the son of Simeon, the son of Sām, the son of Noe.[26] His patronymic was Abu'l Abbās He was called Khizr because he sat upon a white skin which through the blessed influence of his feet turned to green He was born in the time of Moses within two parasangs of Shirāz, or according to another opinion in the time of Abraham Some place him shortly before the mission of Abraham and others, a considerable time after Shaykh Alāu'ddaulah in his *U'rwat (li Ahli'lkhalwat wa'ljalwat)*[27] (ansa viris solitariis et multum conspicuis oblata) says of him, "he has many wives, and children are born to him and he gives them names, but no one can find a trace of him It is now one hundred years and seven months that he has withdrawn himself from the world, and no children of his survive In his early profession of broker he used to buy and sell and secure profit, and borrow and give in pledge, he is also learned in alchemy and knows where the treasures of the world lie buried, and by the command of God expends them in the service of the people, and never acts solely for his own benefit He delights in music and dances, and will often pass a day and a night together in an ecstatic trance A thousand years ago he renewed his youth, and subsequent to that time this occurs after every one hundred and twenty years ' The Shaykh continues "In this year the period of renewal takes place and from the epoch of the Hijrah up to this day the renewal has occurred seven times He associates, and prays with

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[26] The generations of Sem to Abram in Gen xi descend through Arphaxed, Sale, Heber, and Phaleg The further generations through Reu and Serug are here displaced for the fictitious substitutes

[27] This work is in Persian by Shaykh Alāu'ddaulah Ahmad-b Muhammad Simnāni and was completed on the 23rd Muharram, A H 721 (A D 31st January 1321), in the town of Sufiyābād [Hāji Khalifah]

the (saints called) *Qutb* and *Abdāl* [28] They say that once in Medina some camel-men were having a fight with stones. A piece of stone struck Khizr on the head and cut it open. The wound chilled and became inflamed and his illness lasted three months His prophetic office is disputed though many believe it " He accompanied Zu'l Qarnayn (the two-horned[29] Alexander) in search of the water of life, and obtained the boon of length of days Some say that both Elias and Khizr obtained the water of life, and others maintain that Khizr is a spirit who assumes various bodily forms, and they deny him to be of mortal race

ELIAS

Was the son of Sem, the son of Noe, and grandfather of Khizr Some authorities give his father's name as Yāsin and some give Nusayy and different other names Others again derive his genealogy thus,—that he was the son of Phineas, the son of Eleazar (I'izār), the son of Aaron the brother of Moses There is also a disagreement regarding his prophetical office The *Qutbs*, *Abdāls*, and Khizr, stand to him in the light of disciples and revere him He is tall of stature, with a large head, is reserved in speech and absorbed in thought He has a solemn and awe-inspiring exterior, and the mysteries of all things are revealed to him It is said that he was raised up for the defence of the faith of Moses

[28] Jāmi, a great authority on points of mysticism, says that the saints are providentially raised to prove the truth of the prophetic mission, and are the sources of grace to the faithful and an assurance of victory to them over the infidels They are 4,000 in number, do not recognise each other, nor know their own dignity and are hidden both from themselves and mankind Three hundred among these have the office of binding and loosing, and are called *Akhyār* (the Good) Forty others are called *Abdāl* (Just) Seven others are termed *Abrār* (Pious) Three others are *Nuqabā* (Leaders) and one is termed *Qutb* (Pillar), or *Ghaus* (Defender)

[29] He received this epithet says Tabari because he traversed the world from end to end the word *Qarn* signifying a horn, a term applied also to the extremities of the universe It is given to him in the Qurān (Sur xviii vv 82, 84, 92)

and was sent as an inspired guide to the people of Baalbak, when he found that his admonitions were of no avail, he asked for his deliverence from the Almighty,[30] and his prayer was heard One day he went up into a hill with Eliseus, the son of Akhtub, and a fiery chariot with its equipage and harness appeared, and leaving Eliseus as his successor he mounted the chariot and vanished from sight [P. 225]

Extraordinary accounts are told of these two personages Khizr and Elias The first mentioned roams chiefly over dry land and brings those who have strayed into the right path, the latter keeps by the coasts Some reverse these conditions Each has ten holy persons as their assistants, and both are said to have lived for many years and associate together Some of the learned, however, do not believe in their existence Elias is prayed to for the prevention of calamities, and Khizr for their remission after they have befallen

PRAISE BE TO GOD

That a general review of the state of Hindustan has been now presented and the modes of thought and the customs of its people explicitly recorded As time pressed and my mind was ill at ease, I did not formulate the proofs of their doctrine nor compare them with the systems of Greece and Persia Neither did I set down the various conflicting opinions among the Hindus, nor express the thoughts that occurred

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[30] ' And when he was there and sat under a juniper tree he requested for his soul that he might die and said, ' It is enough for me, Lord, take away my soul for I am no better than my fathers "

III Kings xix 4

Thus spoke Eliseus as he fled from Jezabel to Bersabee of Juda Abul Fazl confounds Samaria with Heliopolis, and, perhaps, from the similarity of names, places the slaughter of the false prophets of Baal at Mount Carmel in Baalbak Mount Carmel is still remembered as the Jabal Mār Elyās Eliseus was the son of Saphat of Abelmeula Tabari gives Elias the genealogy assigned by Abu'l Fazl and calls Eliseus the son of Akhtub See Tabari, Zotenberg, p 419, 10

thereon to this bewildered member of the synod of creation Were my spirit not too much oppressed by the gloomy toil of these pages and the deciphering of the characters of manuscripts, and did fortune favour and continue its aid, I would first arrange these systems of philosophy in due order and weigh them with those of the Grecian and Persian Schools, contributing somewhat of my own impartial conclusions in measured approval or disapproval, as my fastidious judgment dictated.

[A F disappointed by the talk of his 5 Muslim and 9 Hindu philosopher companions]

Before I had left my obscure home and had approached the gracious threshold of majesty which is the abode where truth meets with recognition, and had mixed with the learned of all creeds, it had been my constant wish that the Bountiful Giver of all desires would vouchsafe to me the companionship of five intelligent and well-disposed persons, namely, a scholar of literary attainments, a profound philosopher, a mystic of holy life, an accomplished rhetorician, and a thinker of speculative and lofty spirit It was herein my desire that each of these through his own perspicacity and just views of the divine Government, should not regard the truth as captive to his own discoveries, but ever suspicious of his own liability to error, advance in his inquiries with a bold step so that in the common pursuit of truth, the opinions of each might be lucidly set forth The prescriptive duties of investigation might, in such circumstances, be exercised, and convincing argument distinguished from specious fallacy and proof from all beside it, in the hope that from the heart-lacerating thorn-brakes of discord there might be a happy transition into the garden of unity When from seclusion I became engaged in public affairs, the five wishes of my aspiring mind grew to fourteen, and nine Hindus increased the contemplated list I found the majority of them, however, of a retrograde tendency, spinning like a silk-worm,

a tissue round themselves, immeshed in their own conclusion and conceding attainment of the truth to no other, while foxlike, artfully insinuating their own views In dejection of spirit [P. 226] as one crazy, I nigh came unto losing the control of my reason and breaking the warp and woof of life. On a sudden the star of my fortune blazed in the ascendant and the Imperial grace interposed in my favour, and thus rescued in some measure from vain imaginings, I found peace in the pleasant pastures of universal toleration (*sulh-i-kul*)

I trust that by the happy destiny of this God-fearing monarch this union will be realised, and my long-cherished desires bloom with the radiance of fulfilment

O Lord! Unto my soul its sight restore,
And let my feet Thy stair of Truth explore
The treasures of Thy clemency set free
And bid my spirit find its goal in Thee
Grant through life's busy ways still at my side,
Thy grace may aid me and Thy mercy guide.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

COMPRISING THE HAPPY SAYINGS OF HIS MAJESTY,

AND THE CONCLUSION,

With a brief notice of the Author

(P 227) As I have now succinctly described the Sacred Institutes, in acknowledgment of my own obligations and as a gift of price to the rest of mankind, it appears fitting that I should record somewhat of the sayings of His Imperial Majesty in relation both to secular and spiritual concerns, in order that his words and actions may become known to far and near

The following are among his utterances —

There exists a bond between the Creator and the creature which is not expressible in language

Each thing has a quality inseparable from it and the heart is influenced by some irresistible attachment to the power of which it submits and builds thereon the foundation of its sorrows and joys Whosoever by his brilliant destiny withdraws his affections from all worldly concerns, attains to the Divine love which is above all others

(P 228) The existence of creatures depends on no other bond than this Whoever is gifted with this wisdom shall reach a high perfection

Whosoever habituates himself to preserve this sacred relation, will be withheld from it by no other occupation

Hindu women fetch water from their rivers, tanks or wells, and many of them bear several pitchers one above the other upon their heads and converse and chat freely with their companions, walking the while over any inequalities of ground If the heart in like manner preserves the balance

of its pitchers, no harm will befall them Why should men be inferior to these in their relations with the Almighty

When this interior affection both in its immaterial and material aspects is thus strengthened, who can sever the attachment of the rational soul to the Supreme Being?

From the practice of real asceticism the transition is easy to unlawful mendicancy Since a thing is best comprehended by contrast with its opposite, the latter also thus comes to be pleasurably regarded

The intellect will not with the full assent of reason, confessedly oppose the divine law, but some do not believe in the divine books, nor credit that the Supreme essence that is tongueless will express itself in human speech, while others again differ in their interpretation of them

The divine grace is shed upon all alike, but some from unpreparedness in due season and others from incapacity are unable to profit thereby, the handiwork of the potter evidences this truth

The object of outward worship which they affect to call a new divine institute, is for the awakening of slumberers, otherwise the praise of God comes from the heart not the body

The first degree of dutiful obedience is not to scowl with knitted brows when trials befall, but regarding them as the bitter remedies of a physician, to accept them with a cheerful countenance

That which is without form cannot be seen whether in sleeping or waking, but it is apprehensible by force of imagination To behold God in vision is, in fact, to be understood in this sense.

Most worshippers of God are intent on the advancement of their own desires not on His worship.

As the dark hair turns to grey, the hope arises that this hue which is never far distant, may be kept burnished by the

ondrous workings of destiny, in order that the rust of the eart may be cleansed with it and its vision illumined

Some there are who maintain that men walk in opposi-on to the will of God, and that their salvation depends on ieir renunciation of this evil habit, but he who is spiritually lumined knows that none can effectually oppose His com-iands, and physicians from this reflection provide a remedy or those that are sick

Each person according to his condition gives the Supreme leing a name, but in reality to name the Unknowable is vain

(P 229) The object of an appellative is the removal of mbiguity, but this is not predicable of the All Holy Essence

There is no need to discuss the point that a vacuum in ature is impossible God is omnipresent

All that men account good and bad and virtue and vice, rises from the wondrous phases of God's grace the dis-ordant effects result from human action

To impute the existence of evil to Satan is to make him a o-partner of the Almighty If he is the robber, who is res-onsible for his being one?

The legend of Satan is an old-world notion Who has he power to oppose the will of God?

A peasant was seized with a desire to seek the Lord His spiritual guide learning his love for his cow, placed him n a confined space and directed him to exercise himself in neditation on that object After a time he called him forth o test him As the man had been absorbed in that contem-plation, he persuaded himself that he had horns, and replied hat his horns prevented his exit His director seeing his ingle-mindedness, by degrees weaned him from his error

The superiority of man rests on the jewel of reason It is neet that he should labour in its burnishing, and turn not rom its instruction

A man is the disciple of his own reason If it has iaturally a good lustre, it becomes itself his director, and if

it gains it under the direction of a higher mind, it is still a guide

Commending obedience to the dictates of reason and reproving a slavish following of others need the aid of no arguments If imitation were commendable, the prophets would have followed their predecessors

Many whose minds are diseased persuade themselves into an affectation of health, but the spiritual physician recognises the impress on their brows

As the body becomes sickly from indisposition, so the mind has its disorder, knowledge decays until a remedy is applied

For a disordered mind there is no healing like the society of the virtuous

To read the characters of men is a thing of great difficulty and is not in the power of every one

The soul notwithstanding its superiority, takes the tone of the natural disposition by association with it and the brilliancy of its lustre thus becomes dimmed with dirt

[P 230] Through dullness of insight the concerns of the soul which are the source of happiness are neglected, while the pampering of the body which enfeebles the spirit, is eagerly practised

Men through attachments to their associates acquire their disposition, and much of good and of evil thus results to them

When his understanding is still undeveloped, man is in constant change of mood, at one time taking joy in festivities, at another sitting disconsolate in the house of mourning. When his vision is raised to higher things, sorrow and joy withdraw

Many in the conceit of their imagination and entangled in the thornbrake of a blind assent to tradition, believe themselves to be followers of reason, whereas if it be carefully regarded they are not in its vicinity

Many simpletons, worshippers of imitative custom, mis-

take the traditions of the ancients for the dictates of reason, and garner for themselves eternal perdition'

Acts and words are variously the effects of good sense, or of desire or of passion, but through the withdrawal of impartial judgment the facts are noisily misrepresented

When rising from sleep which is a semblance of death, one should be earnest in giving thanks for a renewed life by seemly thoughts and virtuous actions

Conscience requires that rectitude and probity which is commendable in the sight of all men, should be associated with appropriate action

One should first labour for one's own edification and then turn to the acquisition of knowledge in the hope of lighting the lamp of wisdom and extinguishing the risings of dissension

Alas ! that in the first flush of youth our inestimable lives are unworthily spent Let us hope that in future they may virtuously terminate

The vulgar believe in miracles, but the wise man accepts nothing without adequate proof

Although temporal and spiritual prosperity are based on the due worship of God, the welfare of children first lies in obedience to their fathers

Alas ! that the Emperor Humāyun died so early and that I had no opportunity of showing him faithful service !

The sorrows of men arise from their seeking their fortune before its destined time, or above what is decreed for them

(To his son) My good counsel is your brother Hold it in honour.

(P. 231) Hakim Mirzā[1] is a memorial of the Emperor Humāyun Though he has acted ungratefully, I can be no

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[1] Akbar s brother, king of Kābul He rebelled against Akbar, invaded India and besieged Lahor in the 11th year of Akbar's reign See *Akbarnamah*, Eng tr vol ii 407-412 vol iii 532-543

other than forbearing. Some bold spirits asked permission to lie in ambush and put an end to that rebel I could not consent, thinking it remote from what was befitting in his regard. Thus both that distinguished memorial of majesty escaped from harm, and my devoted friends were shielded from peril

The concerns of men are personal to themselves but through the predominance of greed and passion they intrude upon (those of) others

It is meet that worldlings should lead a busy life in order that idleness may be discouraged and the desires may not wander towards unlawful objects

It was my object that mendicancy should disappear from my dominions Many persons were plentifully supplied with means, but through the malady of avarice it proved of no avail.

The world of existence is amenable only to kindness No living creature deserves rejection

The impulse of avarice, like pride, is not consonant with magnanimity, and, therefore, should not be suffered to enter or influence the mind

The office of a spiritual director is to discern the state of the soul and to set about its reform, and lies not in growing the locks of an Ethiop and patching a tattered robe and holding formal discourses to an audience

By guidance is meant indication of the road, not the gathering together of disciples

To make a disciple is to instruct him in the service of God, not to make him a personal attendant

Formerly I persecuted men into conformity with my faith and deemed it Islām As I grew in knowledge, I was overwhelmed with shame Not being a Muslim myself, it was unmeet to force others to become such What constancy is to be expected from proselytes on compulsion?

Clemency and benevolence are the sources of happiness and length of days Sheep that produce but one or two young ones in a year are in great numbers, while dogs notwithstanding their prolificacy are few

The phrase is remarkable that one sits down [when asked] to show the road, but one rises to rob it [2]

The difficulty is to live in the world and to refrain from evil, for the life of a recluse is one of bodily ease.

Although knowledge in itself is regarded as the summit of perfection, yet unless displayed in action it bears not the impress of worth , indeed, it may be considered worse than ignorance

(P. 232) Men from shortsightedness frequently seek their own advantage in what is harmful to them how much the more must they err in regard to others

Men through blindness do not observe what is around them, intent only on their own advantage If a cat defiles its claws in the blood of a pigeon they are annoyed, but if it catches a mouse they rejoice? In what way has the bird served them or the latter unfortunate animal done them wrong?

The first step in this long road is not to give the rein to desire and anger, but to take a measured rule and align one's actions thereon

When the light of wisdom shines, a man distinguishes what is truly his own What he has is only borrowed

In a storehouse, mice and sparrows and other animals have a common interest but from ill-nature each thinks the place his own

Most people avoid the society of those they dislike, and do not let the displeasure of God occupy their thoughts

It is my duty to be in good understanding with all men If they walk in the way of God's will, interference with them

[2] Alluding to the Persian idiom *Ba-rāhnumāi nishistan wa ba-rāhzani barkhāstan*

would be in itself reprehensible and if otherwise, they are under the malady of ignorance and deserve my compassion

An artisan who rises to eminence in his profession has the grace of God with him The worship of God is the occasion of his being honoured

Sleep and food are a means for the renewal of strength in seeking to do the will of God Miserable man from folly regards them as an end

Although sleep brings health of body, yet as life is the greatest gift of God, it were better that it should be spent in wakefulness

A man of penetration finds no (preordained) injustice He regards adversity as a chastisement

A wise man does not take heed for his daily sustenance The analogy of bondsman and servant is an exhortation to him

Happy is he who hath an ear wherewith to hear and an eye to see, for as truth cannot be overthrown, [even] a blind man in possession thereof will not choose a bad path [3]

Children are the young saplings in the garden of life To love them is to turn our minds to the Bountiful Creator

(P 233) To bestow in alms a coin which bears the impress of the name of God is very reprehensible

In our prayers we should avoid the asking of temporal blessings in which the humiliation of another person is involved.

As to the seeking after God being thought to consist in controlling the natural bent of the spirit, most people find the solution of their troubles therein, were it otherwise, fruition would in many become a stair to further gratification

The material world is analogous to the world of the spirit, for as in the one what is given in trust is again reclaimed,

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[1] The latter part of this sentence is corrupt in the reading My rendering is, therefore, conjectural

so in the other, works are required in accordance with knowledge

In the receiving of admonition there is no respect of age or wealth No distinction is recognized between the tender in years or the poor and others in the necessity of listening to the truth

The prophets were all illiterate [4] Believers should therefore retain one of their sons in that condition

Since the poet builds on fiction, his creation cannot be seriously accepted

A rope-dancer performs with feet and hands, a poet with his tongue

He who happily introduces the verses of another in his own compositions or appositely quotes them, discovers the other's merit and his own

A certain seeker after God was addicted to gluttony He went to an adviser of practical experience, who gave him a bowl made of (the shell of a dried) pumpkin which he was told to fill in measuring his daily food and also to grind its edge a little (daily) and apply (the paste) to his forehead as a sectarian mark At the same time, to throw him off the scent, he taught him a prayer to be recited In a short time his failing was cured [5]

Would that we did not hear of such differences of opinion among professors of secular learning, nor were confounded by contradictory commentaries and explanations of tradition

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[4] "Who shall follow the appostle, the illiterate prophet Qurān, vii, and again It is he who hath raised up amidst the illiterate Arabians an apostle from among themselves " Sur lxii

[5] Thus, starting with his accustomed quantity of food on the first day, the amount of it was reduced imperceptibly day by day and the patient felt no sudden privation I have heard of a Bengali Vaishnav *sādhu* who reduced his food in old age by measuring out his daily portion of rice in a half cocoanut shell, whose edge he used to rub against his curry-stone once daily, thus decreasing its capacity imperceptibly Jarrett missed the point of the anecdote in his translation, which I have rejected (J S)

Discourses on philosophy have such a charm for me that they distract me from all else, and I forcibly restrain myself from listening to them, lest the necessary duties of the hour should be neglected

There are but three causes of aberrant judgment, *viz*, incapacity of mind, the society of enemies in the guise of friends, the duplicity of friends that seek their own interest

Would that none other than the prudent had the reading and writing of letters, in order that the base might have no opportunity of fabrication for their own purposes, or of persuading short-sighted simpletons by every specious lie.

The detection of fabrication is exceedingly difficult, but it can be compassed by weighing well the words of the speaker

Although I am the master of so vast a kingdom, and all the appliances of government are to my hand, yet since true greatness consists in doing the will of God, my mind is not at ease in this diversity of sects and creeds, and my heart is oppressed by this outward pomp of circumstance, with what satisfaction can I undertake the conquest of empire? How I wish for the coming of some pious man, who will resolve the distractions of my heart

On the completion of my twentieth year, I experienced an internal bitterness, and from the lack of spiritual provision for my last journey, my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow [P 234]

A darvesh on the northern bank of the Rāvi, entered his cell and allowed no one to frequent it On being asked the reason, he replied, that he was engaged in a special devotion, and that until the death of Abdu'llah Khān, governor of Turān,[6] he would not leave it, nor allow any one access to

[6] See Vol I XXX and 468, this prince had written to Akbar regarding his apostasy from Islām, and Mirān Sadr and Hakim Humām were sent to him on an embassy to explain matters with an ambiguous Arabic verse to the effect that as God and the Prophet had not escaped the slander of men neither could His

him His majesty said, "If he is one whose prayers are heard, then let him gird up his loins for my welfare, and refrain from this foolish prayer"

If I could but find any one capable of governing the kingdom, I would at once place this burden upon his shoulders and withdraw therefrom

If I were guilty of an unjust act, I would rise in judgment against myself What shall I say, then, of my sons, my kindred and others?

The Giver of desires has committed to my charge many a noble fortress No one has thought of provisioning them, yet confiding in the strength of God, no further apprehension alarms me

Whoever seeks from me permission to retire from the world will meet with cheerful acquiescence in his desires If he has really withdrawn his heart from the world that deceives but fools, to dissuade him therefrom would be very reprehensible, but if he only affects it from ostentation, he will receive the requital thereof

If in ailments of the body which are visible, its physicians have made and do make such errors of treatment, in the disorders of the soul which is invisible and its remedies scarce attainable, what medicine will avail?

It was the effect of the grace of God that I found no capable minister, otherwise people would have considered my measures had been devised by him

On the day when the Almighty wills that my life should cease, I also would not further prolong it

My constant prayer to the Supreme Giver is that when my thoughts and actions no longer please Him, he may take my life, in order that I may not every moment add to His displeasure

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Majesty I am not sure whether I have seized the sense of the concluding lines I infer that Akbar wished it to be known that he had no grudge against Abdu'llah [Jarrett] [The translation of the last sentence has been changed by me, J S]

The solution of difficulties depends on the assistance of God, and the evidence of the latter is the meeting with a wise spiritual director Many persons through not discovering such a one, have their real capabilities obscured

[P 235.] One night my heart was weary of the burden of life, when suddenly, between sleeping and waking, a strange vision appeared to me, and my spirit was somewhat comforted.

Whosoever with a sincere heart and in simplicity of mind follows my institutes will profit, both spiritually and temporally, to the fulfilment of his wishes

The source of misery is self-aggrandizement and unlawful desires

The welfare of those who are privileged to confidential counsel at the court of great monarchs has been said to lie in rectitude and loyalty, no self-interest or mercenary motive should intervene, and especially in times of the royal displeasure, if no conciliatory language will avail, they should be silent

A special grace proceeds from the sun in favour of kings, and for this reason they pray and consider it a worship of the Almighty, but the short-sighted are thereby scandalized

How can the common people possessed only with the desire of gain, look with respect upon sordid men of wealth From ignorance these fail in reverence to this fountain of light, and reproach him who prays to it If their understanding were not at fault how could they forget the *Surah* beginning "By the sun," &c [7]

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[7] The XCI of the Kurān "By the sun and its rising brightness, by the moon when she followeth him by the day when it showeth its splendour by the night when it covereth him with darkness by the heaven and him who built it by the earth and him who spread it forth how is he who hath purified the same, happy, but he who hath corrupted the same is miserable' —Sale

The reason why the hair of the head turns grey first is because it comes before the beard and the whiskers

I have heard no good reason from the Hindus for the sounding of the gong and blowing the conch at the time of worship It must be for the purpose of warning and recollection

When it rains, if light breaks from the west, the air will clear, for, radiance from the quarter whence darkness proceedeth is a harbinger of light

The reason why under the Muhammadan law an inheritance seldom passes to the daughter notwithstanding that her helplessness seems deserving of greater consideration, is that she passes to her husband's house and the legacy would go to a stranger

The meat which is nearer the bone is sweeter because it contains the essence of the nutriment

Fruit in a plentiful season is never so luscious and sweet, because the source of supply of these qualities is proportionately subdivided

The tales of the ancients, that, in certain places of worship fire from heaven was present, were not credited, and it was held to be exaggeration, it not being known that a mirror or the sun-crystal[8] being held to the sun would produce fire

For all kinds of animals there is a fixed breeding season Man alone is constantly under the impulse of desire to that end Indeed, by this providential multiplication of the species a greater stability is given to the bond of union upon which the foundation of social life depends

[P 236] Eating anything that dies of itself is unlawful There is a natural repugnance to it

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[8] The *Surya-kānta* or 'sun-loved,' a sunstone or crystal, cool to the touch and supposed to possess fabulous properties because, like a glass lens, it gives out heat when exposed to the rays of the sun Monier-Williams, S D

A man's being eaten after he has been killed is the just requital of his own baseness [9]

The prohibition against touching anything killed by the act of God, the cause of which is unknown, is in order to respect the dead

Blood contains the principle of life To avoid eating thereof is to honour life

The birth of ugliness from beauty is not surprising Indeed, if a man were to beget a different kind of animal, it would not be extraordinary, for as a matter of fact forms are designed from concepts, and since these are capable of being imagined, their production may take place

If the love of the husband prevail, he but idolises his own partialities and begets a daughter, if the wife has the stronger affection, the image of her husband is oftenest present, and a boy appears

As to what is said in ethical treatises, that an enemy should not be despised, the meaning is that since friendship and enmity are but phantasms of the divine dispensation, one should overlook the intervening enemy and view the Deity beyond

Many a disciple surpasses his master, and his attitude to him must be one of deference and submission

Miracles occur in the temples of every creed This is the product of mental enthusiasm, for the truth can be but with one

A gift is the deposit of a pledge and a lightening of an obligation from a former debt

The origin of wearing the sacred thread (in a Brāhman), is that in ancient times they used to pray with a rope round their necks,and their successors have made this a religious obligation.

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[9] Or perhaps 'his own gormandising nature' (*Khwārı*)

In Hindustan no one has ever set himself up as a prophet The reason is that pretensions to divinity have superseded it

When any one is said to be of a good, or low origin, what is meant is, that one of his ancestors attained to spiritual or temporal distinction, or was known to fame from connection with some city or profession It appears to me that good-breeding should involve good works

It is said that greater friendship is shown by the receiver of a gift than by the giver,[10] but I consider that in the giver it is personal He does not give but to a worthy object, and this can be evidenced in a receiver only by a gift

(P 237) In Hindu treatises it is said that, in the acquisition of learning or of wealth, a man should so toil as though he were never to grow old, or to die [11] But since the luxurious, from fear of these two sources of despair, withhold themselves from labour, it appears to me that in acquiring these twin needs of a worldly career, we should regard each morrow as our last, and postpone not the work of one day to the next

The Hindu philosopher says that in the garnering of good works, one should have death constantly in view, and, placing no reliance on youth and life, never relax one's efforts But to me it seems that in the pursuit of virtue, the idea of death should not be entertained, so that freed from hopes and fears, we should practise virtue for the sake of its own worth

It is strange that in the time of our Prophet no commentaries on the Qurān were made, so that differences of interpretation might not afterwards arise

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[10] *Cf* Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*, ch vi An old maxim I had learned says, 'He that has once done you a kindness will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged " [J S]

[11] "The wise man must fix his thoughts on knowledge and wealth, as if he were never to grow old, or to die but he must practise virtue as if Death had already seized him by the locks " Introd *Hitopadesa* Sir W Jones' Trans [corrected here by J S]

(Regarding the saying), "the love of a cat is a part of religion," if the noun of action is not in construction with the agent, as Mir Sayyid Sharif put it to escape a difficulty, it would not be humane to avoid a cat or regard it with repugnance The silence of Maulānā Saadu'ddin from this (obvious) reply is, therefore, not to be defended [12]

'What the ancients have said, *viz* , that the heaviest trials fall on the prophets, next upon the saints, and by proportionately diminishing degrees upon the virtuous, does not commend itself to me How can the elect of God be thus punished?" Some of the philosophers suggested to his Majesty that these were trials sent by God The king was amazed and said "How can trials be justifiable by one who knows both what is hidden and what is manifest?"

Every sect favourably regards him who is faithful to its precepts and in truth he is to be commended If he be engaged in worldly pursuits he should pass his days in righteousness and well-doing, and in garnering the needs of the time,

[12] The ephemeral controversies of the Court which Abu l Fazl seemed to regard as enduring to all time, and of which the subjects and actors have long been forgotten, are to be elucidated only on conjecture The saying alluded to in the text appears to be a parody on the tradition 'the love of country is a part of religion' Some traditions regarding the cat have been preserved and will be found in the *Hayāt u'l Hayawān* [Vita animalium auctore Shaykh Kamālu'ddin Mhd b-Ben Isa Demiri, anno, A H 808 (A D 1405) mortuo, Hāj Khal] One of these, on the authority of Salmān al-Fārsi, says that "the Prophet gave an admonition respecting the cat," *i e* , its humane treatment Abu Hurayrah, the wellknown companion, who received his epithet (father of the kitten), on account of having always a kitten with him narrated a tradition that a woman was punished in hell for maltreatment of a cat Ayesha asked him if this was true He replied, he had heard it from Mumammad's own lips She rejoined that a Muslim woman could not have been so punished on account of a cat, and that the culprit was an infidel He should, therefore, be careful how he repeated these traditions In explanation of the grammatical point, I suggest that what is meant is the duty of mankind in the humane treatment of cats, and, no doubt, all other animals , but if the word 'love' be in construction with a definite agent, and it be said that "the love of Zayd towards a cat is a part of religion," the application is censurable.

and if of a retired habit, he should live in warfare with himself and at peace with others, and regard praise and blame indifferently

Some are of opinion that the greater the number of intermediaries between him that seeks the truth and him that has reached it, the more the grace of God abounds But this is not so rather the attainment thereto is dependent on attrahent grace and good works

It is strange that the Imāmis make beads of the earth of Karbalā, and believe that it is mixed with the blood of the Imām (Husayn)

Whoever bestows his garments upon ignoble people, upon rope-dancers and buffoons, it is as though he went through their antics himself

He alone whose knowledge is superior in degree to that of the author of a work should make selections therefrom, otherwise it is not a choice of passages but showing his own merit [P 238]

The legend of Alexander's stratagem against Porus[1] does not carry the appearance of truth A man raised to power by the Almighty does not act in this manner especially when he thinks his end drawing near

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[1] The stratagem is thus described by Firdausi Now spies arrived from Hind before the world lord and informed him at large of how the elephant contendeth in warfare! It will rout two miles of horse No cavalier will dare to face that beast " Then the Shah (Alexander) assembled all the master-smiths who made a horse with saddle and rider complete, of iron They charged it with black naphtha, and then ran it on wheels before the troops He bade to make a thousand such and more

Now when Sikandar was approaching Fur (Porus), eager for the fray the warriors advanced They lit the naphtha in the steeds Fur's troops were in dismay The naphtha blazed Fur's troops recoiled because those steeds were iron Whereat the elephants when their own trunks were scorched, fled likewise Thus all the Indian host and all those huge high-crested elephants were put to flight (Warner s translation of *Shahnamah*, vi 115-116 Jarrett entirely missed the context J S)

One should write out a quatrain of Omar Khayyām, after reading an ode of Hāfiz, otherwise the latter is like drinking wine without a relish.

Men give the names of eminent men to their sons Although it is done by way of good augury, it is not respectful And what is most curious is that this is chiefly practised by theologians who do not believe in metempsychosis, while the Hindus who do, refrain from it

It is a remarkable thing that men should insist on the ceremony of circumcision for children who are otherwise excused from the burden of all religious obligations

If the reason of the prohibition of swine (as food), be due to its vileness, lions and the like should be held lawful

Burial of the dead is an ancient custom otherwise why should a traveller on the road of annihilation bear a load He should return as he came

One day Qalij Khān brought a register to His Majesty, and said, "I have named this the Khulāsatu'l Mulk" (the Abstract of the Kingdom) His Majesty replied "This name would more befit a province, a district, or a town it should rather be called Haqiqatu'l Mulk" (the Real State of the Kingdom) Qalij Khān then represented his own capacity in affairs Others who were present raised objections During the discussion his knowledge of mathematics was questioned, on this he was silent, but introduced religion His Majesty uttered the following verse

"Hath earth so prospered 'neath thy care,
That heaven thy vigilance must share?"

On one occasion at a meeting for philosophical discussion, one of the poets in the assembly uttered the following couplet ·

"The Messiah his friend, Khizr his guide, Joseph riding at his rein,
Oh! would that my sun might meet with this honour."

His Majesty said "instead of 'my sun' if you read 'my knight', it would be more appropriate" Discerning judges were loud in applause

One day the following quatrain of Mulla Tālib Isfahāni, in an elegy on Hakim Abu'l Fath and congratulatory on the arrival of Hakim Humām,[14] was quoted in His Majesty's presence

"My brothers in their love what concord show!
This homeward comes ere that doth journeying go
That went, and behind him all my life he bore,
This comes, and coming doth that life restore"

His Majesty remarked that the word *dumbālah* (behind) was prosaic and it would better run, *ze raftanash* (from his going) The critics much approved

(P 239) Solicitation is reprehensible from every man, especially from those who are disinterested and of lofty spirit for these defile not their hands save with necessities therefore to solicit of them is to dishonour oneself and them

Difference of capacity is the cause of the continuance of mankind

The truth is such that where it reaches the ear it must penetrate the heart Conviction is irresistible

The severe illness of the young suggests the doctrine of metempsychosis

What the divine books say, that great sinners in ancient times were changed into monkeys and boars, is credible

If the idea were merely that souls were transfused into a few determinate shapes, this would be unworthy, but if the strange workings of destiny joined them to mineral, vegetable and animal life in serial progression till they were exalted to a high dignity, where would be the wonder?

Some of the ancients say that the punishment of each continues through various bodies, and that a body is thus

[14] See Vol I, p 474,

prepared for the expiation of each period—this corroborates the above.

To light a candle is to commemorate the (rising of the) sun. To whomsoever the sun sets, what other remedy hath he but this.

The darkness of smoke is due to the absence of light and its own worthlessness.

When the time of death approaches, a certain sadness supervenes, and when it is at hand, a faintness also ensues. This, indeed, indicates that the gift and withdrawal of life are in the hands of God

The ear is the sentinel of the voice When the speaker becomes deaf he loses the need of speech

Although thieving is worse than fornication when it is practised when the faculties are first developed and in old age, yet because the commission of the latter grave sin contaminates another as well as the doer thereof, it involves the greater guilt

It is not right that a man should make his stomach the grave of animals

The killing of an innocent man is a benevolence towards him, for it is committing him to the mercy of God

The authority to kill should be his who can give life, and he who performs this duty at the command of right judgment, does so with reference to God [P 240] When an inheritance passes, while a daughter is alive, to the brother's child, it having been transmitted to the deceased from his father, there is justification, otherwise how can it be equitable?

A city may be defined to be a place where artisans of various kinds dwell, or a population of such an extent that a voice of average loudness will not carry at night beyond the inhabited limits.

A river is that which flows throughout the whole year.

Kingdoms are divided from each other by rivers, mountains, deserts or languages.

In cold climates such as Kābul and Kashmir guns should be made thicker than ordinary, so that dryness and cold may not crack them.

A moderate breeze differs relatively in reference to a mill or a ship, but what is commonly understood by this term is one of sufficient force to extinguish a lamp

The interpretation of dreams belongs to the world of augury. For this reason it is established that none but a learned man of benevolent character should be entrusted to draw a good omen thereform

Rhetoric consists in the language being commensurate with the capacity of the hearer, and that a pregnant meaning shall be pithily expressed in a manner intelligible without difficulty Eloquence requires the delivery to be accompanied with elegance of diction

One moral may be drawn from the instances of the ruler of Egypt (Pharaoh), and Husayn Mansur (Hallaj) namely that presumptuous contemplation of one's self (*khud-bini*) and gazing at God (*Khudā-bini*) are things different from each other [15]

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[15] And Pharaoh said, O ye nobles, ye have no other God that I know of but myself Burn me then, Hamam, bricks of clay, and build me a tower, that I may mount up to the God of Moses, for, in sooth, I deem him a liar' But we seized on him and his hosts and cast them into the sea Behold, then the end of the wrongful doers (*Quran*, xxviii 38-40)

Abul Mughith Husain bin Mansur, surnamed Hallāj (from his profession of cotton-carding) was a celebrated ascetic and preacher "He is considered by the Sufis to be one of their most spiritual leaders, who, they believed, had attained the fourth or last stage of Sufism (perfect union with the Divine spirit) He was condemned by the Khalif of Baghdād, Muqtādir and was put to death because he used to proclaim *Ana-l-Haqq*, i e., 'I am the Truth' or in other words, 'I am God.' on 26th March 922 A.D (Beale, *Dictonary*, 243) Full life in *Encycl Islam*, ii 239-240, in which L Massignon writes,—Among the doctrines of this sect is that of 'the existence of an uncreated Divine spirit, which becomes united with the created spirit of the ascetic (so that), the saint becomes

Dignity is the maintenance of one's station

A wise man was asked the reason of the long life of the vulture and the short existence of the hawk He replied, "The one injures no animal, and the other hunts them

On this His Majesty remarked, "If the penalty to a hawk that lives only on animal life, be a brief span of existence, what shall happen to man who notwithstanding abundant provision of other kinds, does not restrain himself from meat? Nevertheless, the thought that harmless animals are lawful and animals of prey forbidden food, is full of suggestion

Learning to speak comes from association, otherwise men would remain inarticulate But when the experiment was tried it was shown through the instance of a dumb man, how, though silent in such a case, he might make himself understood by strangers

(P 241) Whosoever imprecates upon another the vengeance of God will not be heard It was this reflection that comforted a man who had been cursed by others

Since I used nitre (for cooling water), I recognise the rights of salt (fidelity) in water also [16]

When I came to India I was much attracted by the elephants, and I thought that the use of their extraordinary strength was a prognostication of my universal ascendancy

Men are so accustomed to eating meat that were it not for the pain, they would undoubtedly fall to on themselves

Would that my body were so vigorous as to be of service to eaters of meat who would thus forego other animal life,

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the living and personal witness of God, whence the saying *Ana'l Haqq*, I am the creative truth" This corresponds exactly to the Hindu vedantist s realisation *so'ham* 'I am He'

Prof Browne calls Hallāj "a dangerous and able intriguer," and this was also Akbar's estimate of the man (J S)

[16] This is a conceit on the well-known eastern duty of protecting a guest who has eaten of one's salt This protection does not extend to the offer of water, but the use of nitre gives water this salt and its consequent rights

or that as I cut off a piece for their nourishment, it might be replaced by another

Would that it were lawful to eat an elephant, so that one animal might avail for many

Were it not for the thought of the difficulty of sustenance, I would prohibit men from eating meat. The reason why I do not altogether abandon it myself is, that many others might willingly forego it likewise and be thus cast into despondency.

From my earliest years, whenever I ordered animal food to be cooked for me, I found it rather tasteless and cared little for it I took this feeling to indicate a necessity for protecting animals, and I refrained from animal food

Men should annually refrain from eating meat on the anniversary of the month of my accession as a thanksgiving to the Almighty, in order that the year may pass in prosperity

Butchers, fishermen and the like who have no other occupation but taking life, should have a separate quarter and their association with others should be prohibited by fine [17]

A merchant was approaching his end and his four sons were about to quarrel over his property He directed them with due counsel, and told them that he had providently bequeathed them equal portions and had left these, one for each, in the four corners of his house, and that when he died they were to take their several shares. When his instructions were carried out, one found gold, another grain, and the other two paper and a bone respectively Not com-

[17] This was the old Hindu and Buddhistic rule Fa Hien observed in North India in 399 A D ,—"Only the Chandālas are fishermen and hunters, and sell flesh meat They are [held to be] wicked men, and live apart from others" [Legge's tr ch xvi] Yuan Chwang noticed the same practice about 629,—"Butchers, fishers, dancers, executioners, and scavengers, and so on, have their abodes outside the city" [Bk II 5, Beal's tr i 74] J S

prehending this they began to make a disturbance The King of Hindustan, Sālivāhana, thus interpreted it· "By the bone is meant that cattle should be demanded (by its holder) of the first, and by the paper, a money credit of the second." When the whole was computed, the shares were thus found to be equal.

Hasan Sabbāh[18] was once on journey by sea with a numerous company Suddenly a storm arose, and consternation seized the people He himself was cheerful, and when questioned thereon, he announced to them that [P 242] they would be saved On reaching land all of them were assured that the future was revealed to him In point of fact he was undisturbed through his assurance that the will of God could not be altered, and his announcement of the good tidings of their security was caused by this reflection, that if they were drowned no one could save them, had they thought otherwise they would have taken to (vain) supplication.

Ali, called also Khārwā[19], used to say that he had seen a person in Baliā whose upper part consisted of two bodies, each possessing a head, eyes. and hands, with but a single body below The man was married, and a jeweller by profession

In the year [968 A H = 1560 A D] that Bayram Khān received permission to depart for Hijāz, a hunting

[18] This was the famous chief of the Persian Ismailians and known in the history of the Crusades under the name of the 'Old man of the Mountain', by which is meant, the mountainous district from Isfahān to Zanjān, Qazwin, Hamadān, Dinawar and Qirmisin Founder of the sect of Assassins The legends about his life are given in *Sargudhast-i-Sayidnā* He ended his reign and life in A H 518 (A D 1124) *Enc Isl* ii 276

[19] For *Khārwā* the variants are *Khāura* and *Hārā*, and for *Baliā*, *Malibār* and *Balisā*. For the man's name I suggest *Khārijah* "a certain man whose mother is called *āmm-i-Khārijah* who is also the mother of several tribes " [Richardson's *Dict*], and for the place *Malibār* This would make Akbar's story an Arab sailor's yarn like those given in *Ajāib-ul-Hind* about India's coastal ports (Devic's French trans , 1875) [J S]

leopard killed a doe near, Sikandrah, a live young one was taken from its stomach I separated the flesh from the bone myself and gave the leopard its fill In doing so something pricked my hand I thought it was a piece of a bone When carefully examined, an arrow-head was found in its liver The doe must have been hit by an arrow when young, but by God's protection it had touched no vital part, and did not hinder the animal from waxing strong and becoming pregnant

A mouse will take an egg in its paws and lie on its back, while the others seize him by the tail and drag him into his hole It will also give a twist to its tail while inserting it into a bottle and draw out opium or whatever else may be inside. There are many such instances of their ingenuity

If a wolf opens its mouth impelled by desire to seize its prey, it can do so At other times it cannot open it however much it may wish When captured it utters no sound

The difference between stone and salt[20] lies in this, that the former is not soluble in water and the latter dissolves

Once in a game preserve, a tame deer had a fight with a wild one The latter was cleverly caught Some of the spectators quoted the following line "We have never seen any one who could overtake a deer by running" The point was thus explained, that *ahu* "a deer" in Persian, means also "a defect," and this is not (required to be) secured by pursuit and effort

The marriage of a young child is displeasing to the Almighty, for the object which is intended is still remote, and there is proximate harm In a religion which forbids the re-marriage of the widow, the hardship is grave.

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[20] I hazard the emendation of *mang* into *namak* [J S]

Marriage between those who are not related is commendable in order that heterogeneity may become kinship, and between relations, the more remote the affinity the closer is the concord; and what has been recorded of the time of Adam, *viz.*, that as sons and daughters were born to each, the son of one was given to the daughter of another, sustains this view.

As to the kinship between cousins being within the permitted degrees under the Muhammadan law, this was established in the beginning and was analogous to (the custom in) the time of Adam's birth. [P. 243]

It is improper to consort with a woman when moved by concupiscence, or with one too young or too old,—most of the latter cease to be capable of child-bearing after 55,—with a pregnant woman or a female during her monthly course . [Reason given in every case, not translated. Akbar followed the Hindu maxim, *putrārthe Kriyate vāryā*, i.e , a man takes a wife with the object of having sons J Sarkar]

To seek more than one wife is to work one's own undoing In case she were barren or bore no son, it might then be expedient

Had I been wise earlier, I would have taken no woman from my own kingdom into my seraglio, for my subjects are to me in the place of children.

The women of Hindustan rate their dear lives at a slender price.

It is an ancient custom in Hindustan for a woman to burn herself however unwilling she may be, on her husband's death and to give her priceless life with a cheerful countenance, conceiving it to be a means of her husband's salvation.

It is a strange commentary on the magnanimity of men that they should seek their deliverance through the self-sacrifice of their wives.

A monarch is a pre-eminent cause of good. Upon his conduct depends the efficiency of any course of action His

gratitude to his Lord, therefore, should be shown in just government and due recognition of merit, that of his people, in obedience and praise

The very sight of kings has been held to be a part of divine worship They have been styled conventionally the shadow of God, and indeed to behold them is a means of calling to mind the Creator, and suggests the protection of the Almighty

Sovereignty is a supreme blessing, for its advantages extend to multitudes, and the good works of such as have attained to true liberty of spirit also profit these

A monarch should not himself undertake duties that may be performed by his subjects The errors of others it is his part to remedy, but his own lapses who may correct?

Sovereignty consists in distinguishing degrees of circumstance and in meting out reward and punishment in proportion thereto This quality of appreciation adds dignity to the pursuit of happiness and is the chief source of success

What is said of monarchs, that their coming brings security and peace, has the stamp of truth When minerals and vegetables have their peculiar virtues, what wonder if the actions of a specially chosen man should operate for the security of his fellows [P 244]

In the reciprocity of rule and obedience, the sanctions of hope and fear are necessary to the well-ordering of temporal government and the illumination of the interior recesses of the spirit; nevertheless a masterful will, never suffering the loss of self control under the dominance of passion, should weigh well and wisely the measure and occasion of each

Whoever walks in the way of fear and hope, his temporal and spiritual affairs will prosper Neglect of them will result in misfortune

Idleness is the root of evils The duty of one who seeketh his own welfare is to learn a profession and practise

it. It is imperative in prefects never to be remiss in watchfulness.

The anger of a monarch like his bounty, is the source of national prosperity

Tyranny is unlawful in everyone, especially in a sovereign who is the guardian of the world

Divine worship in monarchs consists in their justice and good administration the adoration of the elect is expressed in their mortification of body and spirit All strife is caused by this, that men neglecting the necessities of their state, occupy themselves with extraneous concerns

A king should abstain from four things excessive devotion to hunting, incessant play, inebriety night and day, and constant intercourse with women

Although hunting suggests many analogies of kingly action, certainly the foremost of them is that the granting of life [to the doomed] becomes a habit [21]

Falsehood is improper in all men, and most unseemly in monarchs This order is termed the shadow of God, and a shadow should throw straight

Superintendents (*Dāroghahs*) should be watchful to see that no one from covetousness abandons his own profession

Shāh Tahmāsp, king of Persia, one night forgot a verse His torchbearer quoted it He punished the speaker somewhat, and said, "When a menial takes to learning he does so at the expense of his duties"

A king should not be familiar in mirth and amusement with his courtiers.

A monarch should be ever intent on conquest, otherwise his neighbours rise in arms against him. The army should be exercised in warfare, lest from want of training they become self-indulgent.

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[21] I have modified Jarrett's translation here There are many instances in Mughal Indian history of the Emperors ordering the encircled deer in a *qamurgha* hunt to be set free [J Sarkar]

A king should make a distinction in his watch over the goods, the lives, the honour and the religion of his subjects. If those who are led away by greed and passion will not be reclaimed by admonition, they must be chastised

He who does not speak of monarchs for their virtues will assuredly fall to reproof or scandal in their regard

The words of kings resemble pearls They are not fit pendants to every ear

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

[The author toiled hard for seven years in completing this book]

(P 245) Praise be to God that this royal treasure of record, this register of knowledge, the syllabus of the volume of wisdom, the summary of administrative writings, the tablet of instruction in the school of learning, the exemplar of ceremonial among men of understanding, the code of polity of the imperial court, this patent of morality in the audience-hall of justice and mercy, has been brought to completion Much labour had to be endured and many difficulties overcome before the inception of this antidote for the world's constitution, this prophylactic for those envenomed by sensuality and suffering could be successfully undertaken Many a dark night passed into morning and many a long day grew to eve, ere this mine of the diadem of eternal happiness, this pearl of the throne of everlasting sovereignty could be publicly displayed What warring of the capacity with the natural constitution took place, how many a struggle between myself and my heart drove me to distraction ere the count of this investigation fleeting as the world, the result of this search deluding as the waters of a mirage, could be set down ! Prayers were poured forth before the Almighty throne, supplications were offered up on the threshold of divine light, in order that this amulet on the arm of the wise, this magic spell of those who love knowledge, written in my heart's blood, might have the spirit of life breathed into its lettered form.

What toil endured through love that work so planned,
Watered by tears and blood, should rooted stand !

Alas ! Alas ! that one nurtured by the divine bounty and long suffused by the radiance of truth, should defile his tongue with murmurs of toil and labour, and record his harrowing of soul and his travail on the tablet of illustration !

[The author's gratitude to Akbar for his encouragement and guidance during the composition of this book its high value to mankind]

It is through the wondrous workings of His Majesty's favour and the spell of his enduring prerogative that this dissertation has been set forth and a great work brought to its conclusion That cynosure of divine unity to the virtuous, by the efficacy of a direct intention and the probity of unswerving rectitude appointed a treasurer to the stores of his wisdom and sagacity, and gave him access to the recesses of his sanctuary That gem of singlemindedness, in honour of the Supreme Being and in thanksgiving for ever increasing bounties, brought forth a work of knowledge by a (P 246) master-spirit of wisdom for the profit of inquirers, and a royal mandate from the tabernacle of sanctity for the seekers of happiness By a sublime favour he endowed this fortunate and loyal nature with the capacity of reading and understanding it, and by his all-embracing condescension permitted me to reproduce somewhat thereof as came within my limited intelligence and to be honoured with the stewardship of the divine bounty Far and near, friend and stranger, participate therein, and all classes of mankind illumine their minds with the splendour of truth Thanks be to God that in these noble maxims of conduct, the visible world finds its remedy, and the things of the invisible are by them harmoniously regulated !

> The light that o'er seven spheres celestial plays,
> Wins all its radiance from imperial rays
> The blind need now no more a staff to take,
> While those that see find luminous their ways.

The garden of prosperity blooms unto good-will and for joy has come a day of festival The eye opens in cheerfulness and the night of sorrow has passed Many a truth in the orders of nature and grace, and many incidents of binding and loosing have been set down in despite of fraudful concealers of the truth, and an illumination of wisdom is displayed for the guidance of the sightless and faint of heart and for the purblind that lose their way Through a lofty destiny for which sincere loyalty is another name, a new canopy of wisdom has been erected, and the duty of thanksgiving which is the final cause, has reached its accomplishment

In honour of my liege, the king,
With all true loyalty I bring
A cypress set in garden fair,
Wherein shall trysting all repair,
And with full draughts of wine elate,
Its happy growth commemorate

[Firdausi wrote his *Book of Kings* in 30 years, but earned obloquy by demanding from his royal master payment in gold commensurate with the size of his epic Abul Fazl, in a nobler spirit has written his *Book of Akbar* in seven years out of pure gratitude to his master, who has made his subjects happy and prosperous and set up a model of wise and beneficent government before all mankind.]

Notwithstanding the coming and going of so many leaders of the caravans of knowledge and the gathering together of treatises from the schools of learning, to-day only can the purity of the jewel of wisdom be assayed and its weight tested by another scale—now only is sovereign intellect arrayed on the throne of empire and its sway enforced by a later ordinance Now must the field of gift and offering be made wide and the festal melodies and pæans of success resound, but not as Firdausi, who in a

velling spirit, fell into the aberration of greed and made curtain of his honour an object for the haggling of traffic was a seller of words and knew not their value inking them interchangeable with a few pieces of metal, shameless hucksters of the market, he lost his credit stickling for price *He* sought to make rateable worth alculable, and the measurable measureless *This* servitor the table of multitudinous royal bounties records in this rk his gratitude for transcendent favours, and signalizes wondrous dispensations of the world-adorning Creator the universe

Had naught but gold this volume from me wrung,
Life would have ended ere a pearl were strung,
'Twas love that planned the task, for through such strain
Could only love my feeble voice sustain

Firdausi took thirty years of labour to secure eternal ·cration, while I have borne with seven years of toil for sake of everlasting glory He fused his worth into the t of verse which is a matrix of determinate shape, and I /e strung into writing, gems of the purest water through infinite expanse of prose [P 247]

My pen its point deep in my heart's blood dyes
To write such prose as far all verse outvies,
For prose in its degree doth verse excel,
As unbored pearls the rarest price compel

What connection is there between the servitor of the ırd and the worshipper of gold? between thanksgiving and nentation? Self interest let fall a veil before his clear ıion in that he sought largesse in the laboratory of genius ım the great ones of the earth Had no defect obscured sight in his dealings with others, he would not have tered so devious a path nor spoken a line for lucre, and

would have secured the possession of the jewel of magnanimity.

> When thought of self intrudes doth genius flee.
> And the heart blinds the eyes that may not see
> The beam in his own vision what though plain,
> The critic quick to cavil seeks in vain,
> Absorbed in greed the faults of others hears,
> But from his own withholds unwilling ears

But apart from this consideration that in the markets of wisdom, works that delight the heart cannot be purchased by the gold and silver of the world, and that such gems of price are not to be weighed against coin, by his grace of diction and the charm of his verse he strove to immortalize his name, and has left behind him a noble and gracious scion in the full vigour of youth that will survive to ages To the rich and prosperous it adds another dignity the wise that love truth it favours with another aid The simple-minded that seek after happiness are familiarized with the gains and losses of life, and it pours out for the many who resent the disappointments of toil, the healing balm of resignation To the faint of heart it lends courage to those who have the craft of the fox it gives the boldness of the lion and the fury of the alligator Upon the intolerant and narrow-minded it bestows cheerfulness and large views, and stimulates the magnanimous and raises them to the pinnacle of greatness.

Although to outward appearance he was but rendering a service to the great ones of the earth, he was implicitly bearing the jewels of his wisdom to the market of appreciation Had he not been under the influence of cupidity, nor exposed his penetrating genius to the spoil of misplaced desire, he could never have been sufficiently grateful for the divine favour in the opportunity of winning the applause and admiration of mankind. Nay, had he possessed any

sense of justice and any knowledge of the world, besides this rare product of intellect, he would have carried some substantial offering to the throne of majesty, in order that the royal approval might be the means of displaying the quality of his jewel, and that he might bequeath as a gift of price, a memorial to his successors in the pursuit of intellectual fame

Praise be to God! that by the divine grace and providential assistance, I have not set my heart upon the composition of this work with a view to approbation or to listen to my own praises, into which pitfall of the imagination so many have sunk, nor suffered my natural constitution to be trodden under foot by ambition, not even with regard[1] to the large field of its acquired characteristics, far less its innate qualities in any abundance

He who is deficient in a lofty spirit and noble sentiments is ensnared by a desire of worldly goods But even the stranger knows that the [P 248] odour of misrepresentation has not entered my nostrils, and the alien recognises in me a critical judge What analogy is there between the painted silks of China and the raw yarn of a hair-rope maker? between a keen blade of Egypt and a piece of coarse iron? How can the priceless gem of truth descend to the level of worldly potsherds? Why exchange eternal bliss for the silvered inanities that soon decay? And especially at this time when by the wondrous workings of destiny and a smiling fortune, priceless jewels are but as gravel before the palace of auspiciousness, and my loyal spirit, illumined by the rays of wisdom, has found rest on the heights of joy Were I even destitute of the goods that pass from hand to hand in the market-square of the material world, and fortune through malice or fickleness, sent not wealth to serve me, I would never entertain such a feeling nor approve in my

[1] I should alter the punctuation of the text and place the stop after *tabi'at-i-u* [Jarrett]

own person such imprudence in affairs On the contrary, my first thought is the praise of God, in that the deeds of majesty have been illustrated by commendable description. The second consideration of the mind with a view to human needs is that the eminent men of future time and the learned of the present, may bring up gems of purest ray from this fathomless sea to beautify the mansions of their deeds. Had I possessed a lofty spirit, I should not have descended from the summit of the heights of unity to the level of polytheism, but what is to be done?[1] I quote the words used by the leader of the enlightened minds of the past, the spiritual doctor (Maulāna Rumi)—

> Since I am linked with those who see awry,
> Idolater ! I, too, must preach idolatry

[Wise and good men work to secure the blessings of God and the good opinion of mankind at the same time, and they succeed in both by reason of their honesty, self-control, and unselfish sense of duty Abul Fazl's success in life illustrates this truth]

Though every one cannot comprehend the object of this fast in the morning of existence and this mirage in the noon of life, I think that all should perceive and bear in mind that the exertions of the wise and the good should be restricted to two objects, and the supreme purpose of pursuit in those of lofty penetration and wakeful destiny should not exceed these The *first* is to secure the benediction of God and to lay the foundations of a stately fabric in the pleasant meads of His holy pleasure, and this is the means to eternal life and the ornature of enduring bliss Those who choose that country

[1] This language, considering the dedication of the volume and the eye under which it was written, cannot be taken as an expression of regret at his accredited apostasy from Islam and conversion to Hinduism, but to imply the necessity of following the language of conventionality though pledged to the support of his master's creed Nevertheless his sincerity in his adhesion to Akbar's faith was suspected See Vol I Biography xvii

for their abode go not down unto death, and the sound of body therein behold not the face of sickness Its vigorous dwellers know not of debility, nor those that thrive there, of decay. Wealth does not decline in poverty, and loss of vision enters not therein This is to be obtained only by a sincere intention and the possession of the four excellent qualities together with the avoidance of the eight vicious characteristics of which books of wisdom have fully treated The *second* is a good repute in this fleeting world, which signifies an enduring existence and a second life Although this also is accomplished through the same source of enlightenment by which a virtuous disposition is formed, yet it is chiefly secured by a smooth tongue and an open hand, and sincerity of intention and rectitude of mind are not imperative Blest is he who by the divine auspices links the first with the second, and prospers in the temporal as well as in the spiritual world The means adopted by the seekers of truth to participate in social enjoyments and yet to win peace with some comfort to their consciences, are these, that with strenuous endeavour and by the favour of fortune, [P 249] they separate good resolutions and virtuous conduct from the disorders of self-regard and the labyrinth of hypocrisy, and submitting their minds to the dictates of sovereign reason and the divine pleasure, live apart from the blame and praise of mankind, and the profit which these simple dealers obtain from their inestimable lives and the advantage secured by their exertions, are a perpetual remembrance and an illustrious name

The leaders in the four quarters of the visible and invisible worlds, and the deep thinkers that betake themselves both to occupation and retirement, who through their comprehensive views and wide survey of the field of knowledge penetrate the mysteries of these two sublime principles, sustain by the grace of God the weight of the two worlds on the shoulders of their capacity, and in the strength of the Almighty arm move lightly under the burden The harmo-

nious operation of these two opposite interests, one alone of which is rarely attainable under the most capable and statesmanlike administrators even under the sanction of penal law, is by them so successfully carried out under the guidance of celestial favour that the primordial intelligence of nature itself stands amazed and the wonder-working heavens are confounded By them, moreover, the sources of advantage and detriment, both temporal and spiritual, are commanded, and these antagonistic dual elements simultaneously co-operate in the establishment of festal conviviality of intercourse.

[Akbar's unrivalled greatness as a ruler and Abul Fazl's duty to record His Majesty's great acts and rules for the benefit of posterity]

And for exemplar of such a one, lo! from the brow of this prosperous reign that irradiates the face of the State, what splendour is reflected and as a glory shines upon the raiser of its auspicious banner in this our happy age! For today the skies revolve at his will and the planets in their courses move by his sublimity

Akbar, the king, illumines India's night,
And is as a lamp in the court of the House of Timour

The heart exults at his mention and the tongue vaunts his praise May the Almighty vouchsafe long life to this incomparable wonder of the kingdom of wisdom, and eternal happiness to his subjects This sovereign of the orders of nature and grace, by the light of his God-given intelligence and the night-beacon of his powerful will, has so organized the measureless limits of these two dominions and moves through them with such prudence and sagacity, that aspiring discerners of each form of progress look to no other than him, and each and all consider as their own this pearl of wisdom that enlightens the world Since the time that eloquence and knowledge of affairs have existed and the highway of literary composition been frequented, so exquisite and exact a

co-operation of two antagonistic principles in a single hallowed person has never been recorded—a person who is the meeting of the oceans of church and state, the fountain-head of temporal and spiritual order—who prepares the litters of travel while yet abiding in his native land[3]—a lamp for those who gather in privacy, a solver of trammels to those who are in bonds, a balm for the open wounds of the broken-hearted Manifold worldly cares raise no dust of defect in his heart that loves retirement, and perpetual prayer and a concentrated mind suffer no breeze of pre-occupation to play upon the necessary duties of his station Thus he has outward obligation with liberty of spirit

Lo ! from his brow behold the pure of sight
God's love and knowledge beam with radiant light
A crowned monarch—a throne's rightful heir—
Lord of the world—the kingdom's founder there !

[P 250]

It is imperative upon the ambition of all masters of eloquence to decorate the ears and throat of the age with a description of the virtues of such a choice specimen of the court of existence and to adorn with its beauty the bosom and skirt of Time. A rare treasure will thus be prepared for future travellers in the caravans of being, and seekers from afar will come into the possession of knowledge Although the spheres themselves in their courses by gesture and speech, tell thereof and transmit it to succeeding generations, yet by the workings of destiny accidents befall and the thread of continuity is often severed When, however, works are written to record these wondrous deeds and they are inscribed upon the tablets of time, the hand of vicissitude less frequently affects them and they endure to distant ages A fabric that is laid upon virtue, the summit of the porches thereof reaches

[3] That is, preparing for the world to come while yet in this, or facilitating the salvation of others

to the pinnacles of the seventh heaven, and a foundation whereon fortune builds is not sapped by revolving cycles

> Behold the recompense of noble toil
> That guards the Cæsars' halls from Time's despoil !

It is evident that of mighty monarchs of old there is no memorial except in the works of the historians of their age, and no trace of them but in the chronicles of eloquent and judicious annalists, yet the ravages of time obliterate them not Of the splendour of the House of Buwayh no record exists save in the labours of the pens of Sābi[4] and Muhallabi, and the noble pages of Rudaki, U'nsari and U'tbi alone tell of the glories of the kings of Ghazni

> Mahmud hath many a palace raised on high,
> That with the moon might well dispute the sky
> Yet of all these no stone doth now remain,
> While Time doth roll o'er U'nsari in vain

[4] Abu Ishāq Ibrāhim-b-Hilāl, as-Sābi or the Sabean, author of some celebrated Epistles, was clerk of the Baghdad Chancery office in which he acted as secretary to the Caliph al-Muti l'llāh and to I'zzu'd Daulah Bakhtyār of the family of Buwayh the Daylamite He was born about A H 320 (A D 932) and died in 384 (A D 994) He wrote a history of the Buwayh dynasty under the title of *Tāju'l Milal* or *Tāju'l Daylamiyah*

Al-Muhallabi was descended from Ibn Abi Sufra al-Azdi and was appointed Wazir by Mu'izzu'd Daulah Ibn Buwayh in A H 339 (A D 950) Ibn Khallakān says that his powerful influence and firm administration, as well as his acquaintance with literature, made him celebrated He was born in A H 291 (A D 903) and died in A H 352 (963), and was buried at Baghdad A few of his verses are given by his biographer

Rudaki flourished in the reign of Amir Nasr, son of Ahmad of the Samānide dynasty, and was extraordinarily favoured by that prince He turned the Arabic translation of Pilpay's 'Fables' into Persian verse in A H 313 (A D 925), and was the first who wrote a *Diwān* or collection of odes in Persian He died in A H 343 (A D 954) Beale U'nsari lived in the court of Mahmud of Ghazni and wrote an heroic poem on the deeds of Sultān Mahmud He was also the author of a *Diwān*. He ranked not only as one of the first poets in that celebrated court, but was versed in all the learning of that age His death is placed variously in A H 1040 and 1049 For U'tbi, see Vol II

Whosoever comprehends this talisman of prudence this spell of enlightened research, and appreciates these characters of thought and this lawful sorcery, will perceive this much, that my intention is to apprize far and near of these two attributes of high sovereignty and to lay the stable foundations of an enduring dominion By this means the writer will secure a determinate sustenance from these divine treasures and a large provision from the table of manifold graces

> This lasting work I consecrate to Fame,
> And to all time commemorate his name,
> Above its page its syllables enrolled
> Shall turn the pen that writes them into gold

But if through the strange effects of self-interest such fact is unperceived and this pious intention is hidden from his view, at least this measure of knowledge will be secured and the collyrium of vision in this sufficiency will be prepared, that the design of the mind that employs the pen and the object of this benevolent purpose is the happiness of the people [P 251] at large and the prosperity of the commonwealth

[This history is intended to serve as a lesson-book of political science for the instruction of mankind and as a moral treatise for the practical teaching of subjects in the right conduct of life]

The primary purpose of these annals of wisdom is the distinguishing of right from wrong, for the feet of many have been worn in the search of this recognition and have effected nothing, and secondly, to appreciate the results of virtuous and vicious conduct, of which this work is full From the one he will learn how to garnish and sweep his house, from the other, to order the ways of his life When he meets with prosperity and joy, finding no trace of those that have passed away, he will not admit the inroads of

presumption; and if sorrow oppress him when among such as have gone before, no exemplars thereof remain, he will not surrender himself to its sway, but among the accidents of life, seated upon the prayer-carpet of enlightenment, he will be assiduous in praise and supplication before the Supreme Giver, and from the importance and helplessness of the strong that are no more, he will perfectly comprehend the power of the Omnipotent hand. Dumb as I am and dejected of heart, what are these vain imaginings and this apparatus of chronicle and pen-craft! What connection is there between enemies of the flesh who love retirement, and the showy and affected scribblers of the world? And what analogy between those who abate the price of their own wares and the displayers of adulterated goods?

My thoughts do modestly my works decry
While Gebirs, Moslems hawking run, "who'll buy?"

[Abul Fazl's early studies—his mental conflict and despair.]

How shall I write of the strange ways of fortune and the delusive workings of destiny? In the beginnings of knowledge, I was overwhelmed with sorrow at the thought of existence, and at sacred places and auspicious times I prayed for release from the flesh. But, unawares, my spirit drew me by degrees to the school of research, and in confusion of heart which leads men astray, I sought the world The ordinary course of learning was opened before me, and my mind became stored with ample measure of knowledge which raised in me an extraordinary arrogance. Under the guidance of a happy fortune, from a perusal of the works of the ancients, my mind was convinced that men must necessarily be comprised under three classes. The *first* is characterized by evil disposition and conduct, and this is evidenced in the traducing of one's neighbour and disclosing his faults. The *second* by good intentions and virtuous puropses; and the

possessor of these they describe as half a man. From amiableness in his judgments and a large tolerance of views, he speaks charitably of all men. The *third* by a lofty spirit and eminent virtue; and these reveal the perfect man. The master of these qualities from transcendent elevation of mind, regards not mankind at all, and, therefore, much less virtue and vice in the abstract Objective ideas find no entrance into his mind His contemplation ever traverses the field of his own heart, and discovering his own defects, he labours to remedy them, and finally he adorns the sanctuary of his soul with the true principles of virtue in the hope of attaining by their means to the goal of deliverance in the fruition of eternal bliss.[5] When I read these seductive and winning numbers on the dice-tables of wisdom, I woke somewhat from my slumber and began to inquire Withdrawing from worldly concerns, I fell to a critical introspection and began to transcribe the roll of my sins When I had traversed a portion of this terrible road, veils in fold on fold were suspended before my vision It [P 252] seemed as though I could not advance a step, and save a few venial errors which I had committed in my youth, I believed myself innocent As the very delusion of this mocking fancy awoke me to consciousness, I was not undone by my spiritual enemies. I was compelled to turn back and alighted at the first station of abstraction from being, and made the transcription of the failings of my fellow creatures a mirrored reflection of my own I thus became aware of many reprehensible qualities In this ghostly and spiritual warring and distress of mind and body, leaving the recess of seclusion, I came to the court of His Majesty and the star of my fortune rose on the horizon of desire.

[Abul Fazl's mind was liberalised and his spirits exhilarated by his contact with Akbar.]

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[5] The influence of the Sanskrit Schools of Philosophy is here very distinct This passage breathes the spirit of the Vedanta

By his great condescension His Majesty resolved my doubts, and I surmounted the heights of the visible and invisible worlds. I was honoured with the guardianship of the treasure of truth and entrusted with the keys of familiar intercourse, as has been briefly adverted to at the close of the first and second books My heart emptied itself forth, and a treatise on morals was composed A new life arose in the framework of language. For a long period the provision of bodily sustenance, the furnishing of which is approved in the truth-desiring eyes of sovereign reason, made my mind uneasy What I had read in ancient works, occasioned only further bewilderment One morning I craved for a scintillation from the court of the lord of light, and sought the exhibition of the talisman that resolved all difficulties And as fortune befriended me and my heart was attentive, a refulgence from the luminary of grace shed its rays and the wondrous enigma was solved, and it was made clear that daily provision was under the pledge of royal justice and the acceptance of duty by grateful servants, as I have to some extent notified at the beginning of the last book. Most strange of all, however much from time to time the desire for seclusion which innate in me renewed its impulse, the thought of increased worldly advancement likewise gained strength With this provision secured of appropriate sustenance and due supply of bodily vigour[6] on which the success of every undertaking depends, I withdrew from various other pre-occupations and turned my attention strenuously to military matters, and like those exclusively occupied in business, whom more solemn considerations do not affect, severing not the night from day, I sat at the gate of expectation. Since in this profession centres the interest of life and

[6] He required a large provision His enormous appetite needed for its gratification or surfeit twenty-two *sers* of solid food daily See Vol I Biography, xxviii Both Abul Fazl and his brother Faizi entered the military service, then the only profession See Vol I Biography, xv

it adorns the acquisition of perfect and accurate judgment, in uniting the coruscation of political ability with the glitter of the sword, my whole ambition was to perform some service and to dare some signal deed in honour of this chosen profession, which would astonish even experienced statesmen and amaze the perusers of the history of the ancients, in order that the duties I had undertaken might be adequately fulfilled. This desire every moment increased, but the inopportuneness of the season suffered me not to speak. I had come from a religious house and a college to the royal court.

[Abul Fazl's secret longings gratified by Akbar's command to him to write the history of his reign—the other courtiers envy him]

Those who regard outward circumstances only might impute designs to me that had never crossed my mind, and I judged from appearances that if this secret intention got wind, they would blame me and loosen the tongue of reproach But since the luminous mind of majesty is a mirror of verities and a world-displaying cup,[7] without representation on my part or communication, the king vouchsafed to favour and honour with a commission my obscure personality that was unassisted by patronage, and raised me to an exalted rank and to the degree of a very distinguished command [8] For some days among the learned at their meetings considerable [P. 253] jealousy was excited, and the courtiers had for a long time banded together in envy against me. It was a strange coincidence that I should be about the arsenal in search of a sword, while fate would force a pen into a master hand. I was examining the burnish of the lance-head while destiny

[7] The cup or mirror of Jamshid, as well as of Solomon, Cyrus, and of Alexander, which mirrored the universe, according to Oriental tradition

[8] He received in 1585, the command of a thousand horse In 1592 he was promoted to be commander of two thousand horse, and about 1595 to the command of two thousand five hundred horse, and became one of the grandees of the empire See Vol I xv, xviii, and xxi

was sharpening the point of the reed in order that the ordinances of the sovereign might be reverently proclaimed in the publication of these important records I was a prey to conflicting emotions Since I had not the capacity for this office, and my mind had no inclination to this kind of historiography, I was on the point of declaring my incompetence and standing aside, withdrawing from so onerous a task But as I was impressed with His Majesty's knowledge of things that are hidden and with the obligation of responding to his favours by some signal service, I was unable to decline his command. The thought then occurred to me that His Majesty had in view my own application and industry as well as the literary capacity of my brethren,[9] so that the materials which I might with indefatigable assiduity collect together, that accomplished and eloquent writer [Fayzi] might harmoniously set in order and thus bring to completion this stupendous task. In a little while under the strenuous support of a will of miraculous efficacy, I opened my eyes to an interior illumination, and reflected that the royal command was a magic inspiration to literary effort and a talisman for the illumining of wisdom. With a sincere mind and a lofty determination this complex of sorrow and joy set his face to the duty. My chief reliance was in this, that by the grace of the divine favour, having diligently collected the necessary facts and given material embodiment to their spiritualized form, the eulogist of the court of the Caliphate, the erudite scholar of the Imperial House, the first writer of his age, the laureate among accomplished poets, Shaykh Abu'l Fayz-i-Fayzi my elder brother and superior, would graciously supervise it, and under the correction of that master of style, a fresh texture would be hand-woven into a fabric of beauty.

[Just after one-half of this book had been written, Abul Fazl's collaborator and guide, his elder brother Faizi died,

[9] For the names of these see Vol I, xxxiii

but our author steeled his heart to carry his task to completion, in spite of grief and heavy administrative duties]

Scarce half of the first book had been written, when destiny worked its spell, and that free spirit in the fulness of its knowledge, took its last journey and afflicted my heart with an exceeding grief When, by the talisman of the royal sympathies, I was recalled from the desire of aimless wandering to the city of service, manifold kindnesses were as a balm to the open wound of my soul, and I applied myself zealously to my great task A light dawned on me as to the object of the royal command and the aim of its lofty view. I brought my mind to that consideration and with a prayer to the Almighty, I set out on the road On the one hand lay the painful feeling of incompetency and a heart overwhelmed with affliction and stress of occupation which no material successes however numerous could remedy, and the ulcers of which no profusion of outward gratifications could salve, —on the other was the ebb and flow of the sea of my heart wherein human efforts were of no avail, nor could the door of its secret retirement be closed and the busy world kept out ! How can I describe the violent conflict of these two unusual states of mind, or with what capability express the intercurrency of this strange dual operation The first conjured up in the clear recesses of my mind, a fanciful play of wave and leap of fountain with swirl of rain and fall of dew, it wove thousand fictions and suggested frequent supernatural interventions [P 254] and seemed to assure him who chose it, of the attainment of the truth and the honour of presidency in the state-council of wisdom. From the second, a vision of flinty stones, of strewn fragments of brick and as of clod-heaps and scatterings of blackened soil appearing from the same source of discernment, arose with a warning aspect. Coarseness of speech, scurrility, vauntings and vain babble of which the characteristics are a moral decadence and a desire of associating with the base, time after time, in a novel

guise came flaunting by. Accompanying this miserable condition and disorder of mind, the stress of helplessness and isolation now and again received a fresh impulse. Although it is the way of the world seldom to form bonds of attachment, but rather the more constantly to sever the ties of friendship, my plain speaking and discernment of hypocrisy co-operated with this worldly tendency Some friends of Baber's household and intimates of long standing withdrew from association with me With the burden of affairs on my shoulders and journeying over inequalities of ground and moving through perilous paths, how could I in utter loneliness, reach half way on the road, or when arrive at my destination? But by the advent to the gardens of blessedness of one or two godly friends who in this dearth of manhood were obtained by me, I triumphed over all my difficulties

[Akbar's sympathy and interest hearten Abul Fazl in writing this book]

Strangely enough, with all this apparatus that inspired fear and this struggle within and without, I did not withold my hand from writing nor did my resolution flag, nay rather, every moment fresh vigour was aroused in me and this momentous conflict grew stronger and the strife of the flesh and the spirit increased until the light of truth shone forth and my difficulties were solved, the wondrous effects of the holy spirit of His Majesty were again evidenced in me, and my heart and vision were flooded with an extraordinary light The writings of the wise of ancient times to some extent corroborated the accuracy of my own course and exculpated my sorry conscience with its ignoble tendencies. What the sages of old affirm is this, that the leader of the caravans of hallowed sovereignty is supreme over high and low, and that the pleasant mead of spiritual and temporal concerns blooms fair under the beneficent lustre of such unique wonder of the world of wisdom moreover that the visible ruler who is the chosen among thousands of mankind to reduce to order the

scattered elements of social organisation holds sway over all men, but his power extends only to their bodies and finds no access to their souls. The lords of spiritual dominion, on the other hand, have no authority save over pure consciences, as the practice of the saints in general and of all holy men illustrates. The ordinary class of professors of learning and the shallow sciolists of the world influence solely the minds of the vulgar, and the effect of their instruction is to be found only in such waste ground. But as the monarch of our time has been appointed sovereign likewise over the invisible world, his sacred inspiration has wrought these extraordinary effects in me who am rude of speech, ignorant and helpless, and raised me from the deeps of ignorance to the heights of knowledge.

With joyful omens blest, my strain
Shall celebrate his glorious reign;
His praises shall my pen proclaim,
And here enshrine his royal name

[How Abul Fazl secured the materials of his history]

[P 255] My first care was to collect by the aid of heaven, all the transactions of his enduring reign, and I used exceptional and unprecedented diligence in order to record the chief events of my own time In many of these occurrences I bore a personal share, and I had a perfect knowledge of the under-currents and secret intrigues of State, to say nothing of the ordinary drift of public affairs And since the insinuations of rumour had prejudiced me and I was not sure of my own memory, I made various inquiries of the principal officers of State and of the grandees and other well-informed dignitaries, and not content with numerous oral statements, I asked permission to put them into writing, and for each event I took the written testimony of more than twenty intelligent and cautious persons. The flagrant contradictory statements of eye-witnesses had reached my ears and amazed me, and my

difficulties increased. Here was date of an event not far distant—the actors in the scenes and transactions actually present—their directing spirit exalted on the throne of actual experience—and I with my eyes open observing these manifold discrepancies By the blessing of daily-increasing favour I determined to remedy this, and set my mind to work out a solution. The perplexity disentangled itself and my bewildered state of mind began to grow calm. By deep reflection and a careful scrutiny, taking up the principal points in which there was general agreement, my satisfaction increased, and where the narrators differed from each other I based my presentation of facts on a footing of discriminate investigation of exact and cautious statements, and this somewhat set my mind at ease Where an event had equal weight of testimony on both sides, or anything reached me opposed to my own view of the question, I submitted it to His Majesty and freed myself from responsibility By the blessing of the rising fortunes of the State and the sublimity of the royal wisdom, together with the perfect sincerity of the inquirer and his wakeful destiny, I was completely successful and arrived at the summit of my wishes.

[How Abul Fazl worked up the raw materials collected for his history]

When I had safely traversed these difficult defiles, a work of considerable magnitude was the result. But since at this formidable stage, in the arrangement of these events no minute regard to details had taken place, and their chronological sequence had not been satisfactorily adjusted, I commenced the methodizing of my materials anew, and began to rewrite the whole, and I took infinite pains especially bestowing much attention on the chronology of the Divine Era And since I had the assistance of the highest scientific experts, this task also was with facility completed and a separate table was drawn out When through supernatural illumination, the announcement of a new basis of computa-

tion entered the ear of intelligence, that old and tattered garment was cast aside and a robe of honour newly woven of grace, was substituted, and by the power of the Being who created speech, this great work, with all the difficulties it presented, was brought to a conclusion, and numerous expressions of satisfaction were felicitously evoked.

As this world of tribulation is not a home for the wise of heart, the more so that friends who live for the happiness to come are covered by the veil of concealment and on account of the ingratitude of the incapable, have withdrawn their hearts from participation in the false shows of its delusive scene, I looked upon each of my days as though it were to be my last, and employed myself only in the preparations for my final journey In this sorrowful condition I hastened along my road, and the labours on the fulfilment of which I had counted were not ordered according to my desire

[He repeatedly revised his composition to give it literary grace] As by [P. 256] the decree of destiny my life was still prolonged, for the fourth time I renewed the task and gave it all my solicitude. Although my first efforts were now directed to remove all superfluous repetitions, and give continuity to the easy flow of my exposition, I perceived the incomplete arrangement of my fresh materials, and the due ordering of this was undertaken And since I was new to the road and stricken with grief and friendless, an exceeding depression of spirit came upon me, in that, with all my toil and with such excessive care these many lapses had occurred and such frequent errors had appeared What would be the result, and where would it all end? I began a fifth revision and went over the work from the beginning. Although all my acknowledged endeavours were directed to immortalize these events and to place their issues in due order, yet as sagacious writers consider that verse is as the savour of salt to prose, I took much pains in the introduction of a few stanzas which should be in harmonious accord with

the composition, and many a correction and emendation was made, independently of any consideration of the cavils of numberless critics The truth is that men close their eyes in regard to their own faults and their own offspring. However much they may oppose the feeling, these defects are approved as merits I who have made it a practice to be critical of self and indulgent towards others, could employ no collyrium regarding this question, nor devise any remedy for this defect of vision, but on this five-fold revision a rumour of this new development spread abroad Some of my acquaintances joined in supporting me, others were as unanimous in an underhand depreciation. I formed a resolution, for the sixth time, to set my mind free of its waverings of suggestions, and to exercise the most minute and fastidious criticism, but the frequent calls upon me made by His Majesty left me no time.

I was compelled therefore to present him with this fifth revision, and was rewarded with a perpetual satisfaction.

> What mine hath ever yielded gem so fair?
> What tongue-born treasure can with this compare?
> Beneath each letter is a world concealed,
> Each word's expanse shows worlds on worlds revealed.
> Its every pearl bedecks the earth and sky,
> And if ye see it not—be yours the penalty.

It is my hope that by the blessings of a sincere intention and its own merits, the task which was set before my grateful heart may be happily concluded, and my mind be disburdened in some measure from the distress of its many anxieties. Within the space of seven years, by the aid of a resolute will and a lofty purpose, a compendious survey covering a period from Adam down to the sacred person of the prince regnant, has been concluded, and from the birth of His Imperial Majesty to this day, which is the 42nd of the

Divine Era,[10] and according to the lunar computation 1006, the occurrences of fifty-five years of that nursling of grace have been felicitously recorded, and my mind has been lightened in some degree of its stupendous burden. [P. 257]

> The princely heart that virtue dowers,
> For him gems bloom instead of flowers,
> And hill and dale his kingdom round
> Shall with their monarch's praise resound

It is my expectation to write in four volumes[11] a record of the transactions of the royal house during one hundred and twenty years, which are four generations, that it may stand as a memorial for those who seek knowledge in justice, and with the Institutions of His Majesty as the concluding book, I purposed the completion of the Akbarnāmah in these five volumes By the aid of the Almighty three have been written, and many a secret of wisdom has been revealed and a treasure of truth weighed in the balance

> I bear from wisdom's inmost store
> The royal House this treasured lore,
> And pray its justice and its grace
> May ne'er my memory efface
> And let this loyal offering be
> Accepted of its Majesty.
> May God His favour grant benign,
> And His acceptance deign with thine,
> And raise its dignity on high
> With thy name's glorious currency,
> That it from thee may win renown
> And link my fortunes with the throne.

[The last two sections of the *Akbarnamah* are yet to be written]

[10] The starting point of the Divine Era was Friday, the 5th of Rabīʻ II A H 963 (19th February 1556).

[11] See Vol I, Preface

If destiny in its wondrous workings gives me leisure and capricious fortune, opportunity, the remaining two books shall be satisfactorily terminated and form a history of deeds replete with attraction. If not, let others, guided by grace and a propitious fate, set down, year by year, the events of this enduring reign, with a lofty resolution and unremitting industry, in right understanding, with a noble purpose and in a spirit of freedom, rendering populous the habitations of Church and State and fertilizing the gardens of grace and nature with refreshing waters Let them not forget this obscure wanderer in the desert of aberration and in their glad work acknowledge their obligations to me who first displayed the continuous succession of this series, and suggested to them the manner of its record But if this be not approved and they desire, by recommencing on a new method or fashion of language of the day, to compile the transactions of this never-fading dominion,

> Be it unto thy peoples' welfare, Lord,
> Beneath the shadow of King Akbar's sway

CHAPTER XIV.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR

[P 258] The writer of this important work had it in his mind to draw up a memoir of his venerable ancestors and some particulars of strange incidents in his own life, and form of them a separate volume which should be a source of instruction to the intelligent who look afar, but various occupations, especially the composition of this work, absorbed his attention to the exclusion of all else At this juncture a secret inspiration prompted the thought that the world would not welcome the detailed journals of personal biography in an isolated form, and that it would be more opportune to append an account thereof to this work and to intersperse here and there some practical and didactic comments Accepting this happy suggestion, I have thrown off this sketch and liberated my soul

Since to vaunt of lineage is to traffic from empty-handedness with the bones of one's ancestors and to bring the wares of ignorance to market, and is to be foolishly vain of the merits of others while blind to one's own defects, I was unwilling to touch the subject or indulge in such idle vapouring. In this demon-haunted wilderness, to be linked by any chain deters advance and the irrigation of the genealogy of the outer world is of no profit to the interior spirit.

Be not, as fools, alone thy father's son;
Forget thy sire, choose merit for thine own.
What though should fire beget a scion as bright,
Smoke can be ne'er the progeny of light [P. 259.]

In ordinary parlance genealogy signifies seed, race, tribe and the like, and the term embraces the distinctions of high and low. Any rational man recognises that the one reverts to

the other, inasmuch as among intermediaries in the line of descent some one individual has become distinguished for material wealth or spiritual eminence, and thus become celebrated by name or title or profession or place of birth; whereas the vulgar who, though accounting mankind to be the sons of Adam their primitive father, yet by attending to romantic fictions accept only these assumptions, are evidently led astray in this matter by the remoteness of the line and do not realize the actuality of that patriarch Why then should any upright and discerning man be deluded by these fables and trusting to them, withdraw from the pursuit of truth? What availed the son of Noah his father's communion with the Almighty, and how did the idolatry of his race injure Abraham the friend of God?

> Jāmi ! serve God through love, nor lineage heed,
> For such road knows no son of this or that

Nevertheless through the decrees of fate I am linked to worldlings and associated with those who give priority to birth above worth Thus I am compelled to alude to it, and to furnish a table for such as them.

[Abul Fazl's ancestors in their home in Yemen His fifth forefather settles in Sewistan as a teacher and pious man]

The count of honourable ancestry is a long history. How may I retail their holy lives for the unworthy inquisitiveness of the moment? Some wore the garb of saints, some were immersed in secular studies, some were clothed in authority, some engaged in commerce and others led lives of solitude and retirement For a long period the land of Yemen was the home of these high born and virtuous men Shaykh Musa,[1] my fifth ancestor, in his early manhood, withdrew from association with his fellows. Abandoning his home he set out on travel, and accompanied only by his knowledge

[1] Cf Vol I Biography of Abul Fazl.

and his deeds he traversed the habitable globe with a step that profited by what he saw In the ninth century by the decrees of heaven, he settled in quiet retirement at Rél, a pleasant village of Sewistān, and married into a family of God-fearing and pious people. Although he had come from the desert to a civilized town, he did not exchange his retired habits for the occupations of the world. Ever contemplative on his prayer-carpet of introspection, he wrestled in prayer with himself and spent his precious days in the ordering of the wayward spirit His virtuous sons and grandchildren following his example lived happily, and were instructed in the esoteric and exoteric doctrines of philosophy In the beginning of the tenth century Shaykh Khizr set out impelled with the desire of visiting the saints of India and of seeing Hijāz and the people of his own tribe Accompanied by a few of his relatives and friends he came to India At the city of Nāgor, Mir Sayyid Yahyā Bokhāri of Uch, who was successor to Makhdum-i-Jahāniyān and had a large portion of the spirit of sanctity, Shaykh Abdur Razzāq Qādiri of Baghdad (who was one of the distinguished descendants of that paragon among eminent saints, Sayyid Abdu'l Qādir Jili), and Shaykh Yusuf Sindi who had traversed the fields of secular and mystic lore and had acquired many perfections of the religious life, were engaged in the instruction and guidance of the people, and multitudes were profiting by their direction In his zeal and affection for these eminent teachers and under the attractive influence of the soil of this ancient country, that wandering exile there took up his abode [P 260]

[Author's father Shaikh Mubārak Nāgori—his birth, precocious genius, vast learning and long travels.]

In the year A H 911 (A D 1505), Shaykh Mubārak (my father) came forth from the realm of conception into visible personality and was clothed in the mantle of existence. Through a miraculous efficacy of will, at the age of four he

displayed the light of his intelligence and a daily-increasing illumination shone from his auspicious countenance. When nine years old he was already considerably well-informed, and at fourteen had run through the usual course of the studies and had by heart the text-books of every science. Although the grace of God guided the caravan of his wakeful fortune and he had received alms from the street of many a learned mystic, he principally attended Shaykh Atan through whose instruction he increased his interior thirst. This Shaykh was of Turkish extraction and lived to the age of one hundred and twenty In the reign of Sikandar Lodi he had taken up his residence in that city and had attained to an eminent degree of knowledge under Shaykh Sālār of Nāgor who had studied in Irān and Turān

Briefly to resume, Shaykh Khizr returned to Sind, his whole object being to bring some of his relations back with him to this country He died on his journey Meanwhile a severe famine had befallen Nāgor, and an epidemic plague added to the disaster Except his mother, all other members of his family perished A resolution to travel had always been uppermost in the enlightened mind of my venerable father, and the desire of seeing the eminent doctors of every land and of soliciting their godly assistance was vehement within him, but that queen of virtue, his lady mother, suffered him not, and no thought of disobeying her entered his righteous mind In this hesitancy of spirit, he came under Shaykh Fayyāzi of Bokhārā—may God sanctify his soul — and his agitation of mind increased In his early days of study the peerless eyes of that discerning sage had fallen upon a certain servant of God with whom it was his daily fortune to receive interior enlightenment and (guidance to) eternal salvation. He solicited his direction in the choice of a settled course of life. He received the following answer "About this time a certain person will become an acknowledged master of instruction and will be established as a guide

to those who seek knowledge; his name is U'baydu'llah and his distinguishing epithet *Khwājah-i-Ahrār*, (master of the free of spirit). attend his lectures and follow the course he points out." The Khwājah at that time was footsore from his long investigations and assiduously sought the great theriac of truth. In due time he attained this eminent rank and Fayyāzi learnt from him how to seek God His seclusion was directed to be in absolute obscurity and his (spiritual) office was determined without formal delegation. Wherever the Khwājah in his allusions refers to "the dervish," he means this wonder of the world (Fayyāzi)[2] For forty years he resided in Turkistān, and in deserts and mountains enjoyed the ecstasy of solitude He had attained the age of one hundred and twenty years and the fire of his soul was burning with undiminished intensity One night my father, in the city of my birth, was discussing the subject of religion with some godly and pious persons and many edifying matters had been brought forward, when suddenly the sound of a sigh was heard and a flash of heavenly light shone However much they attempted to account for this, they could find nothing. The next day after much investigation [P 261] and a diligent search, it was discovered that this mystic personage was in retirement in a potter's house My father now for a space reposed in the light of his direction and his own distracted mind ceased to wander For four months consecutively he enjoyed this happiness and was daily tested by the alchemy of his glance Within a short period, the time of the Shaykh's departure to heaven drew nigh, and with his mind filled with divine truths, he gave forth his counsels of guidance for those who were seeking revelation, and in ecstasy of spirit and with a serene mind he passed away.

[2] This passage is so obscure from the confusion and omission of pronouns that it is with great difficulty I have been able to disentangle and determine what I conceive is its sense.

About this time that pattern of pure womanhood who had given my father his earliest instruction, departed this fleeting life The affair of Maldeo,[3] caused an interregnum; my venerable father withdrew towards the seacoast with a view to greater seclusion. His sole purpose was to travel over the country and to derive some profit from intercourse with various classes of men.

[Mubārak's encyclopædic scholarship—his teachers]

At Ahmadābād he fell in with distinguished doctors and further improved his knowledge, and received a high diploma for every important branch of learning He acquired a various acquaintance with the doctrines of Mālik, of Shāfiai, of Abu Hanifah, of Hanbal, and of the Imāmiyāh [Shi'a] school, both in the principles of law and the law itself, and by strenuous application acquired the dignity of a *mujtahid* Although traditionally from his ancestors he belonged to the theological school of Abu Hanifah yet he had always adorned his conduct with discretion, and avoiding a servile following of opinion, submitted only to demonstration and took upon himself the things which the flesh resisted Thus by his greatness of soul and fortunate destiny he passed from the knowledge of the visible to the understanding of the invisible, and the pleasure-ground of the material world led the way to the kingdom of truth. He had read treatises on Sufism and transcendental theology, and had perused many works on contemplation and worship, especially the verities of Shaykh-b-Arabi, of Shaykh-b-Fāridh

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[3] See Biog Vol. I ii Blochmann refers to this as "the Maldeo disturbances" without further comment I think he misapprehends the sense Abul Fazl must refer to the affair subsequent to the final defeat of Humāyun by Sher Shāh, near Kanauj, in A H 947 (A D 1540) Humāyun fled to Sind, and failing in his attempts there marched by way of Jesalmer to Nāgor and Ajmer then ruled by Maldeo the most powerful of Hindu Rājahs This prince determined to seize him and make him over to Sher Shāh Warned in time Humāyun fled at midnight to Amarkot

and of Shaykh Sadru'ddin of Iconium. Many doctors of physics and ontology honoured him with their countenance, and many successes attended him and uncommon precepts of direction added to his fame. Among the chief divine graces vouchsafed to him was that he became a disciple of the Khatib Abu'l Fazl Kāzarun This personage from his appreciation of merit and knowledge of men, adopted him as a son and diligently instructed him in various knowledge, and made him commit to memory the subtleties of the Shifā,[1] the Ishārāt, the Tazkirah and Ptolemy's Almagest. Thus the garden of learning was refreshed with irrigation and the penetration of his vision was further increased That learned man at the instance of the princes of Gujarāt, had come from Shirāz to the country, and the groves of wisdom received a renewal of bloom He had acquired learning under divers theologians of the time, but in the great branch of mystical contemplation he was the disciple of Maulānā Jalālu'ddin Dawwāni That learned doctor had first received the leading principles of science from his own father, and subsequently, in Shirāz had attended as a pupil the lectures of Maulānā Muhyi'ddin *Ashkbār*, or the Weeper, and Khwājah Hasan Shāh Baqqāl, these two theologians being among the principal pupils of Sayyid Sharif Jurjāni He for a time also frequented the school of Maulānā Humāmu'ddin Gulbāri who was proficient in drawing horoscopes and there lit the lamp of erudition, [P 262] and through good fortune thus acquired a wonderful extent of knowledge He had also

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[1] The *Shifā* and *Ishārah* are two works of the famous Avicenna, i e , Abu Ibn Sina (980—1037 A D), whose full name was Abu Ali al-Husayn-b-Abdu'llah , the former on logic according to Hāji Khalifah, but Ibn i Khallakān states its subject to be philosophy (*hikmat*), a term wide enough in application among Orientals to include medicine, and may signify science in general The *Ishārat i'la i'lm 'il Mantik* (indicium ad scientiam logicæ), is on the same subject and by the same author There are many works under the title of Tazkirah The reference is probably to the great work of the grammarian Abu Ali Hasan-b-Ahmad al-Fārisi, who died in A H 989 or 1581 A D *Ency Islam* ii 419

made a thorough study of philosophical works the principles of which he explained with much elegance, as his treatises on that subject evidence and commendably illustrate In the same city of grace, my venerable father had the good fortune to attend upon Shaykh U'mar of Tattah, who was one of the greatest saints of the time, and that night-illumining jewel possessing the power of an exquisite discernment, inspired him transcendentally with elevation of soul and sublime knowledge He also fell in with many doctors of the Shattāri, Tayfuri, Chishti and Suhrawardi orders, and profited by their instruction In the city likewise, he made the acquaintance of Shaykh Yusuf, who was one of the most ecstatic and inspired of mystics, and through him was filled with new wisdom He was ever absorbed in the ocean of the divine presence, and omitted no minute particular of ceremonial worship From the holy influence by which he was surrounded, his desire was to erase altogether from the expanse of his mind the impressions of knowledge, and withdrawing entirely from the conventional obligations of intercourse, to become absorbed in the contemplation of the divine perfections But that reader of the secrets of the heart's recesses discovering his intention dissuaded him therefrom, and he courteously communicated to him that a ship was about to sail, and that he should visit Agra, and if his difficulties were not there overcome, he should proceed to Irān and Turān, and wherever the spirit led him or a call directed him, thither should he go and occupy himself with secular teaching

[Mubārak comes to Agra in 1543 and marries]

Conformably to this direction in the first of the (Persian) month of the Urdibihisht (April), in the Jalāli year 465, corresponding to Saturday, the 6th of Muharram 950 A H (A.D 10th April 1543), he happily alighted in that prosperous seat of empire which may God guard from all adversity! In that delightful residence he happened to become acquainted with Shaykh Alāu'ddin Majzub or the ecstatic,

who could read the tablets of the heart and the secrets of the tomb. This saint, in one of his returns to consciousness from an ecstatic trance, informed him that it was God's will that he should remain in that city and abandon further wanderings, and he announced to him good tidings and comforted his roving spirit. He took up his residence on the banks of the Jumna, in the vicinity of Mir Rafi'u'ddin Safawi of Ij.[5] He here married into a Quraysh family distinguished for wisdom and virtue, and lived on terms of intimacy with its head, the chief of the quarter, and this upright personage, looking upon the arrival of that nursling of wisdom as a rare distinction, received him with warmth of affection and cordiality. Since he was a man of much wealth, he wished my father to share his mode of life, but by the guidance of fortune and grace, he did not consent, and preferring the threshold of reliance and an independent mind, he pursued a life of interior recollection combined with worldly pursuits. The Mir was one of the Hasani and Husayni Sayyids. Some account of his ancestors is given in the works of Shaykh Sakhāwi. Although their birthplace was originally the village of Ij of Shirāz, yet for a long time past they preferred to live at Hijāz, and some members of the family have been continually settled in both places where they have been the givers and recipients of benefit. Although he had studied [P. 263] philosophy and theology under the direction of his own parents, he nevertheless, as a pupil of Maulānā Jalālu'ddin Dawwāni, reached a higher distinction therein. In Arabia he studied the various branches of traditional lore under Shaykh Sakhāwi of Cairo in Egypt, who was a disciple

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[5] Blochmann has "Iuju (Shirāz)," but Yāqut gives no such name. The text has distinctly Ij and Yāqkut locates Ij in the district of Dārābjird, and states that the Persians pronounce it "Eek." One Dārābjird he places in the district of Istakhr adjacent therefore to Shirāz. Abul Fazl intends this locality, as he shows lower down. The present ruins of Dārābjird formed the ancient citadel of Pasargadae which contained the tomb of Cyrus.

of Shaykh Ibn-i-Hajr al-Asqalāni,[6] and when he died in A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547), my father retired to his own seclusion

[Mubārak sets up as a teacher at Agra.]

He continued his efforts in the regeneration of his soul while attending to the perfect propriety of his exterior conduct, and was assiduous in his worship of God. He employed himself in teaching various sciences and made the expounding of the opinions of the ancients an occasion for withholding his own, and gave no tongue—that fatal member—to the expression of desire Some few prudent and virtuous persons of whose sincerity he was assured, he admitted to his society and appreciated their merits, but from the rest he held himself excused and avoided association with them In a short time his house became the resort of the learned where high and low were honourably received Among gatherings of friends, there were also conclaves of the envious, but these did not depress him, nor those elate Sher Khān, Salim Khān and other grandees proposed for him a stipend from the State revenues and to settle on him a suitable freehold, but as he possessed a high spirit and lofty views he declined and thus raised his own reputation

As he was gifted with an innate aptitude for the direction of men, and held a divine commission for the enunciation of truth, while at the same time he had the concurrence of the saints of his time and the affection of his well-wishers daily increased, he undertook the guidance of those who frequented his lectures and sought enlightenment, and he denounced all evil habits. Self-interested worldlings took offence and entertained unseemly intentions. As he had no desire to oppose any hostile discussion and allowed no thought of acrimony or servility to enter his mind, he did not the less continue to

[6] Shihābu'ddin Abu'l Fazl Ahmad-b-Ali-b Hajr al Asqalāni, the well-known author of the Isābah fi tamyiz is-Sihābah (recta institutio de distinctione inter socios prophetæ) He died in A H 852 (A D 1449) *Ency Islam*, ii 379, under *Ibn-Hadjar*

speak the truth boldly and to reprove evil doers, and did not attempt to win over quarrelsome seceders And this occasioned that the Almighty miraculously blessed him with true friends and spiritually-minded sons Although he employed his hours in teaching philosophy, during the time of the Afghāns he lectured little on theology When the lofty crescent-bearing standards of Humāyun shed a new splendour over Hindustan, some students from Irān and Turān attended the school of that knower of the mysteries of the spirit and of the world, and his lectures grew in repute, and the field of the thirsty in the drought-year of discernment overflowed with water, while timid travellers encamped in the pleasure-ground of repose. Affairs had now scarcely got into train when the evil-eye fell on them, and Hemu[7] now rose in the ascendant The well-disposed withdrew into obscurity and retired in disappointment My venerable father with a stout heart, continued firm in his own seclusion, and by the favour of God, Hemu sent messengers with expressions of apology, and through the interposition of a man of my father's excellent character many were released from the oppression of anxiety and entered the meads of joy

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[7] Hemu was a shop keeper whom Salim Shāh had made Superintendent of the markets, and who was raised by Muhammad Shāh Aādili to the highest honours and entrusted with the whole administration He certainly proved his great capacity, for he suppressed the revolt of Sikandar Sur in the Punjab, crushed Muhammad Sur in Bengal, captured Agra from the Mughal troops, and defeated Akbar's general Tardi Beg at Delhi He was, however eventually beaten at Panipat by Bayrām Khān on the 5th November 1556, after a desperate battle in which he fought with the greatest bravery He had been shot in the eye by an arrow in his howdah, and though in great agony, he drew the arrow with the eye-ball out of its socket and wrapt it in his handkerchief, and continued the fight to encourage his troops He was taken prisoner and carried before Akbar Bayrām recommended the king to slay him with his own hand and fulfil a meritorious act Akbar lightly touched him with his sabre and became entitled to the honours of a Ghāzi—a slayer of infidels The deed itself he suffered Bayrām to execute, who decapitated Hemu at a single blow Saladin, a true Ghāzi, would have spared so gallant a foe

[Abul Fazl's recollections of the famine and plague in Hindustan in 1556.]

In the beginning of the year of the accession of His Majesty to the imperial throne, as though wild rue [8] [P 264] were set on fire upon the State with the view of arresting the evil-eye, a great famine occurred, which raised the dust of dispersion The capital was devastated and nothing remained but a few houses In addition to this and other immeasurable disasters, a plague became epidemical. This calamity and destruction of life extended throughout most of the cities of Hindustan Still that enlightened sage remained in his seclusion and the dust of tepidity settled not in the serene chamber of his mind The writer of this work was then five years old,[9] and the luminary of discernment so blazed before the arch of his vision that its expression cannot enter the mould of language, nor, if expressed, would it find access to the narrow hearing of mankind He has a perfect recollection of this event, and the evidence of eye-witnesses confirms his testimony. The distress of the times ruined many families and multitudes died In that habitation[10] about 70 people, in all, male and female, high and low, may have survived Contemporaries marvelled at the easy circumstances and general cheerfulness of the dervishes and attributed it to magic

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[8] It is popularly supposed that a fumigation with wild rue and its seeds which are set alight, arrest the malignant effects of the evil-eye The term used is 'the eye of perfection" The praise of any object in the possession of an Oriental is regarded as ominous by him and as bringing a nemesis with it, for all perfect things decline after reaching their zenith

[9] He was born at Agra on the 6th Muharram 958 (14 January 1551)

[10] I presume this means the quarter in which his family resided There is no mention of these distresses in Ferishta Abul Fazl makes a brief allusion to it in the Akbarnāmah He says that there was great scarcity throughout Hindustan, and especially in Delhi where the famine was extreme, and although money might be obtained, food-grain was not to be had , men were driven to feed on human flesh, and parties were formed to carry off any solitary person in order to eat him Text, Vol. II 35

and incantation. Sometimes a *ser* of grain would be obtained, which was set to boil in earthenware vessels, and the warm water distributed amongst these people. Most strange of all was that there occurred no difficulty of provision in my father's house, and except the worship of God no other thought disturbed his mind, and save an examination of his own conscience and a perusal of the travels of the spirit no other occupation employed him, until the mercy of God was vouchsafed unto all and a universal affluence lit the countenance of joy The royal standards shone again with splendour and by a daily increasing justice filled the world with a new radiance The palace of wisdom grew in amplitude and the wares of knowledge rose to a high price Science in its many branches and learning of every kind were now diffused New elucidations, high and lofty views and important discoveries were published abroad and all classes of men received countless benefits from the treasury of intellect The quiet retirement of that discerning nature became the resort of the learned of the universe, and the highest topics were matters of discussion But the envy that had been chilled now warmed to life, and the malevolence of the wicked increased My father steadily followed his own course disregarding the fashion of the times and sitting at the gate of independence pursued not the road of prescribed conventionality Men of little influence and envious, losing patience followed the path of detraction Most of them accused him of attachment to the Mahdawi doctrines,[11] and uttered the most absurd fictions They stirred up the simple and ignorant, and did their best to produce keen annoyance by their evil intrigues The chief instrument in their hands was the affair of Shaykh Alāi

[Affair of Shaikh Alāi, a follower of Mir Sayyid Md of Jaunpur, who was regarded as the predicted Mahdi.]

[11] See Vol I Biog iii, iv ff for the Mahdawi movement and the history of Shaykh Alāi On the *Mahdawi* sect, *Ency Islam*, iii 111 On the *Mahdi*, *ibid*, iii 111-115 [J S]

There is a sect in India who regard Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur as the predicted Mahdi and go to extreme lengths in this assertion, and forgetting the other demonstrations[12] of this mission besides doctrine, works, and blameless moral conduct, adopt this movement In the reign of Salim Khān, a youth called Shaykh Alāi, irreproachable in his character and conduct, fell into this whirlpool, and came into that auspicious city (of Agra), originally for the purpose of seeing my venerable father with a view to a life of seclusion and retirement. Certain seditious men who sought [P 265] but a pretext, were loud in their frivolous accusations and gave occasion to scandal The learned of the day who are ignorant pretenders and sell poisonous herbs under show of antidotes, rose up in malice against him and conspired to put him to death, and even obtained judicial decrees. My father did not concur with them and found neither reason nor tradition on their side They sought to bring the dispute before the Emperor of Hindustan, and strove for their own undoing The king assembled a council of the learned of the time, and great efforts were made to obtain a legal sentence. My venerable father was also summoned to attend When his opinion was asked, he gave it against the crafty pretenders who sought but their own advancement From that day, they maliciously imputed to him an attach-

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[12] Amongst these are that he must be of the tribe of the Quraysh and of the family of Fātima His countenance will be open and his nose aquiline, and he will fill the earth with equity and justice as it has been filled with tyranny and oppression A rival, also of the Quraysh, will be raised up to oppose him, who will levy war against him and obtain aid of his uncles of the tribe of Kalb During the reign of the Mahdi, heaven and earth will be pleased with him and there shall be abundant rains, and the earth will give forth her fruits and men's lives will pass pleasantly, and he will continue on the earth seven, eight or nine years, and dying, will be prayed over by the Muslims Other tokens have been predicted, such as the black ensigns coming from the direction of Khorāsān , but these were additions made in the interest of the Abbasides and for the glory of that house See also Blochmann's extract from the Rauzat u'l Aimmah Vol I Biog iii

ment to that cause, and on so trifling a point as to whether the mission of the Mahdi is a tradition of authority or otherwise,[13] out of sheer malignity, they proceeded to such lengths that he was ruined. Some evil-minded men reviled him for the Shiah tendencies which they presumed he held, not understanding that knowledge is one thing and profession is another.

[Theologians opposed to Mubarak denounce Mir Muhammad as a heretic Before Islam Shah Sur Mubārak defends the Mir's doctrines as orthodox]

At this very time they also made a suspect of one of the Sayyids of I'rāq[14] who was among the choicest souls of the age, whose character and conduct were alike virtuous and his precepts harmonized with his actions, but by the royal favour their arm was shortened from reaching him One day in the royal presence, they represented that no religious authority should be accorded to the Mir, and that since his views were repudiated, it would be inconsistent to recognize his leadership in religious functions They adduced some cases in point from ancient Hanafi treatises in support of their contention that the teaching of I'rāq dignitaries (*ashrāf*), ought not to be accepted The prospects of the Mir were gloomy As he was on terms of fraternal religious intimacy with my father, he laid the whole truth before him, and my father comforted him with judicious counsel and encouraged him to confront more boldly the suggestions of the wicked,

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[13] I accept the variant reading in the note , traditions related only on one authority are in contradistinction to traditions supported by several contemporary and concurrent narrators

[14] This was probably Miyān Abdu'llah, a Niyāzi Afghān and a disciple of Mir Sayyid Muhammad of Jaunpur See Vol I Biog v Badauni's own version of the persecution of Shaikh Mubārak is given in Vol II, text p 198-200, where he says that Mubārak first took refuge with Shaikh Salim Chishti of Fathpur, who merely sent him money by some of his disciples and advised him to go away to Gujrat , Mubārak next appealed to Mirza 'Aziz Kokah, who praised the Shaikh to Akbar and secured the Emperor's pardon for him [J S]

and in refutation of the traditionary authority that had been cited against him, he stated that they had not understood its drift What had been brought forward from the Hanafi works referred not to Persian but to Arabian I'rāq, and many passages he quoted in confirmation thereof, and further that they had not distinguished between dignitaries *par excellence* (*ashraf i ashrāf*) and the nobles (*ashrāf*), for the degrees of royal rewards and punishments are assigned distributively to four classes The *first* is the pre-eminent (*ashraf i ashāf*), such as doctors, divines, Sayyids, and holy men The *second* is termed *ashrāf*, the noble, that is the officials and land proprietors and the like The *third* is styled *awsāt*, or the intermediate, which is understood as comprising the industrial and commercial professions The *fourth* comprises the inferior orders who do not rise to the preceding degree, such as the mob and the low rabble Each of these orders is subject to a separate code of sanctions regulating the acknowledgment of honourable service and the penalties of misconduct And, indeed, if every evil-doer was to receive the same punishment, this would be a deviation from justice The Mir was emboldened by this assurance and much rejoiced, and in order to clear himself and expose the ignorance of his traducers, he submitted the opinion of the Shaykh for the royal consideration. Those wicked men with their evil machinations were confounded When they discovered the source of their confusion, they were inflamed with jealousy Similar instances of assistance such as this were divulged and contributed to the turbulence of the ignorant Praise be to God that all men agreed in this, that there is no [P 266] creed that may not in some one particular be in error, nor yet any such that is entirely false, and therefore, that if any one, according to his conviction, speaks favourably regarding a doctrine which seems at variance with his own faith, his motives should not be misunderstood, nor should people rise to decry him After a long controversy, this point was abandoned and they

reverted to the accusation of his Shiah tendencies; but by the protection of God the detractor was covered with shame, his infamy exposed and he was overwhelmed with confusion. nevertheless, in his recusancy and blindness he took no admonition and continued to seek his occasion, confirmed in his malice, until the wondrous ways of destiny and the caprice of fortune were manifested, and a vast dispersion came as an exemplary warning.

[In 1570, Shaikh Mubārak sets up as a public teacher in Agra The bigots in envy form a plot to ruin him.]

In the fourteenth year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to A H 977 (A D 1569-70), my father came forth from his retirement, and great troubles presented themselves, of which I shall briefly make mention as a hortatory instruction. Although the hornet's-nest of envy was still in commotion, and the viper's hole alive with the brood, the night-lamp of friendship dim and even the good intent on molestation had closed the door of estrangement, as has been already alluded to, at this time I say, when learning was regarded with honour and the distinguished of the day were his disciples and the numbers at his lectures were in full attendance and my father, according to his custom, denounced all evil habits and exhorted his friends and well-wishers to avoid them, the learned doctors and divines of the time who regarded his beautiful soul as a mirror to their own defects, maliciously conspired to restore their position Labouring under the convulsions of their tortuous purposes, they represented to themselves that if they could but adduce some particular instance to convince His Majesty who loved justice, it would signally re-establish their former titles to esteem and result in a condition disastrous (to my father) Oppressed by grief and vexation, they continued their intrigues and boldly advanced in a course of detraction and by their sophistries and crafty insinuation they led astray many of the courtiers with their show of affected regrets

Some amongst the evil-disposed they roused by an appeal to their bigotry.

Although for a considerable period this unseemly conduct had continued, yet by the aid of virtuous and truthful individuals, the conspiracies of the wicked had always been defeated At this juncture, however, this honest and trusty band were remote, and the chief of these intriguers at court set himself to gratify his malice These shameless wretches and unclean spirits of evil found their opportunity. My venerable father had gone to the house of a servant of God and I had the happiness of accompanying him That overweening braggart[15] with his affected haughtiness was also present at the visit and began his crafty discourse The conceit of learning and exuberant youth possessed me I had never before set foot outside of college to be present at any public functions, but his vain words drove me to open my lips and I spoke so much to the point that he was ashamed and the spectators were amazed From that day, he vowed to avenge his being convicted of ignorance, and emboldened those who had lost heart My venerable father was unconscious of their designs and I in my pride of knowledge, gave no heed. At first those worldlings without religion, like crafty schemers, convened assemblies ostensibly in the interests of truth and religion, and by persecuting assaults on those who sought but quiet, many were hunted to death [P 267] Whenever a monarch, well meaning and with every good intention, leaves the direction of religion, education and justice entirely to a body who are outwardly respectable, and himself assumes in their regard the mantle of indifference, the influence of the truthful and righteous wanes and the crooked-moving white-ants of learning and the

[15] This must refer to Makhdum-u'l-Mulk whose bold opposition to Akbar's religious pretensions caused his dismissal from court, his banishment from the kingdom and finally his removal by poison at the instigation of Akbar, if the Sunnis are to be believed See the notice of his life in Vol, I Biog vii,

courtiers unite in intrigue against these few and bigotry has full sway And it comes to pass that families are subverted and reputations totally ruined. At such a time when these wretches had gained credit for virtue, like a bride that is falsely passed off for a virgin and proves a harlot, and when graceless worldlings were triumphant, and the sordid and blind of heart were united in purpose, sympathetic friends remote, the honest of speech secluded, and the gatherings of contention of the profane frequent, these conspiracies were hatched and compacts of persecution made

[In a dark night Shaikh Mubārak and his two elder sons flee from their home, on hearing a treacherous friend's false report of an impending attack by their enemies]

One of the double-faced and fickle, a fallen angel of malevolent cunning who had insidiously crept into the lecture-rooms of my venerable father under a show of sincerity and was in collusion and understanding with that body, was found and despatched at mid-night nspired with impious deceits and spells to infatuate That clever imposter at dead of night with a trembling heart and tearful eyes, a pallid colour and dejected countenance, hastened to my elder brother's chamber and his evil spells disturbed that simple soul and seduced one ignorant of guile and deceit The purport of his information was this "The principal men of the day have been for a long time hostile, and the faithless and ungrateful without shame They have now found this opportunity and mean persecution Many of these turbaned divines are witnesses and having appointed a prosecutor, have incited him to procure an investigation on colourable pretexts into their slanders Every one knows the influence these men have at court and how many eminent men for their own aggrandizement they have had put out of their way, and what high-handed persecutions they have enforced. I have a friend in their secret counsels. Even now at midnight he informed me of this, and I have in trepidation come to you lest when

day breaks it may be too late to mend matters. Now my advice is that they should convey the Shaykh to some concealment without any one's knowledge and let him for a few days live retired until his friends can assemble and he can represent his case fully to His Majesty" That good soul [Faizi] took alarm and with much agitation went to the Shaykh's chamber and informed him of the case He answered "Though my enemies may be powerful, the Almighty is vigilant and a just monarch now rules the world. If a handful of godless unprincipled men are unrighteously filled with envy, the obligation of pledges is still binding and the door of investigation is not closed Moreover, if the decrees of God for my injury have not been issued, though all are united against me they can avail nothing and can do no evil nor inflict harm upon me, but if the will of the Creator be this, I will cheerfully and gladly give my life and withdraw from the possession of this fleeting existence" As my brother was scarce master of himself and afflicted with grief, mistaking truth for self-deception as he had mistaken a false pretext for condolence, he drew his dagger and said, "Practical business is one thing and religious mysticism is another, if you do not go I will at once kill myself, for the rest, look you to it. I shall not await here the day of ruin." The paternal bond and fatherly affection induced compliance with his wish At the command of that serene sage I was also awoke

Under compulsion, then, in the darkness of that night, three persons set out, having no appointed guide and unequal to the fatigues of travel My venerable sire, reflecting on the accidents of fortune, maintained silence, while between myself and my brother, than whom one more inexpert at the time in political dealings or worldly business one could not imagine, a conversation continued and we spoke of our place of retreat. Whomsoever he mentioned I objected to and whom I named he disapproved.

With outstretched arm against me comes the foe;
No trusty friend averts the threatened blow
Throughout the world man and his works I see,
But not a trace bespeaks humanity.

[The helpless fugitive family of Mubārak remove from place to place but find no friendly shelter]

Driven to extremity, after a thousand difficulties we arrived at the house of a person regarding whose fidelity my brother was assured and of whom I, fasting in the morn of existence and of little account in the market of this elemental frame, had not the least suspicion At the sight of his peaceful and dignified visitors, the man was surprised and regretted our coming and was in hesitancy how to act At last he found a place for our lodging When we entered the house it was more forbidding than his own heart A strange scene took place and an exceeding sorrow filled our minds My elder brother hung round me saying, "Notwithstanding my greater experience, I have been mistaken, and thou with little knowledge of men hast judged aright Now what is to be done and what is the course proposed, and where may we take refuge?" I replied, "Nothing has as yet happened, let us return to our own home and let me be the spokesman, and perhaps the badges of office of these worldlings will be removed and the trouble that threatens be overcome " My father applauded and approved the counsel, but my brother would not consent and said, "Thou hast no knowledge of this business nor perceive the fraud and diabolical malignity of these men Let us leave this place and discuss as we go along " Although I had not traversed the desert of experience nor the good and evil ways of men, a divine inspiration suggested a person to my mind and I said, "It has occurred to me that if things go fairly well, such a one will help, but in a time of serious trouble it will be difficult for him to join us " As time was pressing and our minds in perplexity we set out in his direction Footsore we pro-

ceeded through ways clogged with mud and reflected on the vicissitudes of fortune Loosing hold of the "strong handle" of reliance in God, trudging onwards disspirited and thinking the world in pursuit, we advanced each step with difficulty, breathing with effort, oppressed with exceeding sorrow and believing the day of the resurrection of the wicked at hand.

At dawn we reached his house At the news he met us with cordiality and found us a suitable lodging and our many cares were somewhat abated [P 269]

[Shaikh Mubārak's enemies get a royal warrant issued to arrest him for trial according to the Qurānic law against heresy —Akbar orders his release—Mubārak's enemies still persecute him]

In this retreat after two days, we learnt that these envious agitators had lifted the veil of shame and openly divulged the intentions of their foul minds and like crafty intriguers on the morning of that night they represented their case to His Majesty and perplexed his august mind An order was issued from the imperial palace that affairs of state should not be transacted without consultation with them, that this was a question of faith and religion the issue of which lay entirely in their hands, that the fugitives should be summoned before the judicial tribunal and whatever the illustrious law decided and the heads of the government determined should be carried out The royal persuivants were set on and despatched in search, and when they learnt what had happened they made every effort at discovery. Some evil-doers, plotters of villainy, accompanied them and not finding us in our dwelling and believing a vain report, they surrounded the house and finding my brother Abu'l Khayr in the house they took him to the court and reported our flight with a hundred embellishments, and made it an occasion of shameless accusations By an extraordinary favour of heaven His sagacious Majesty was apprised of this gathering of interested detractors and their manner of insinuation, and replied,

"Why is all this hostility shown against an obscure dervish and learned ascetic, and what is the object of this senseless clamour? The Shaykh constantly travels and has now probably gone abroad for recreation. Why have they brought this boy? and why interdicted the house?" The boy was at once released and the prohibition against the house removed The breeze of favour now blew upon that dwelling Since some difficulties were in the way and apprehension was uppermost and various rumours contradicted the above, we fugitives disbelieving it remained in concealment The base villains covered with confusion now thought that as their victims were without house and home, this was the time to carry out their designs and that some dark-minded miscreants should be engaged to kill them wherever they met them, lest they should learn what had happened and introduce themselves to the royal court and secure justice by the lustre of their talents Concealing, therefore, the answer of the King, they put forth some alarming and awe-inspiring language as though uttered by his august lips and thus terrified unsuspecting and time-serving friends And they issued some plausible documents misleading men into wrong conclusions and thus held them back from intended assistance After a week, the master of the house too becoming discouraged, began to be vexatious and his servants discontinued their former civility The minds of the fugitives were under apprehension, and their agitated hearts were convinced that the first report had no foundation, that the King was investigating and the world in pursuit, and that the master of the house would undoubtedly surrender them. An exceeding grief overwhelmed them and a great fear entered their hearts I said "Judging for myself, of this much I am assured that the original rumour is correct, otherwise they would not have released my brother nor would the guards over our house have been removed May not this supposed incivility [P. 270] be only outward? In a time of security whenever an ill

rumour was heard, even good men, led away by it, rose against us; now if a man like the master of the house, is afraid, what is there to wonder at? and if he intended to apprehend us, there would have been no change in his outward demeanour and he would not have delayed. The fabrications of malevolent reprobates have undoubtedly bewildered him and have induced his men to this, so that seeing this discourtesy we should leave the house and relieve his mind of anxiety" Thus reflecting we were somewhat recovered and set ourselves to devise some plan, and a dark day dawned more distressful than the first night, and gloomy was the prospect before us They applauded both my first opinion and this statement of my views and recognized me as a counsellor and trusted adviser and overlooking my youth they promised not to oppose my advice in future

[Wanderings of the persecuted Shaikh Mubārak and his sons—the dangers and privations they underwent when fleeing from the bigoted heresy-hunters]

When evening drew on, with hearts filled with a thousand anxieties and wounded bosoms and minds oppressed with sorrow, we went forth from that dreadful abode of woe, without a helper in sight, with fainting limbs, no place of refuge visible nor any prospect of peace On a sudden in that gloomy haunt of demons, a flash shone and gladness smiled again The house of one of the disciples appeared in sight and there for a while we rested Although his abode was darker than his heart and his heart blacker than our first night, we reposed a while and recovered from bewilderment, but though at the end of our resources and in the depths of depression, our minds continued active and our thoughts were roused to reflection As we found no place of rest and nothing to comfort us I remarked that we had of late seen all that our best friends and oldest pupils and most steadfast disciples would do for us. The most advisable course to pursue was now to take ourselves away from this city of

hypocrisy which was a dungeon inimical to learning and injurious to perfection, and to withdraw from these double-faced friends and unstable acquaintances whose loyalty rests on the breeze of spring and their performance on a rushing torrent. Perhaps a corner of privacy might be obtained and a stranger take us under his protection There we might learn somewhat of the condition of His Majesty and discover the measure of his anger or clemency It was possible to fall in with some kindly and upright friends and get a savour of the state of the times If the occasion be favourable and fortune propitious we may again see better days, and if not, why the expanse of the world has not been contracted Every bird has its perch and the corner of its nest and there is no commission of perpetual residence in this region of penalty A certain noble, having obtained an assignment of land in the neighbourhood of the city had here settled, we might decipher the impressions of truth from the daily journal of his circumstances and the odour of his friendship be inhaled by the sense of a penetrating brain. Let us therefore abandoning all else, betake ourselves to him that we may repose somewhat in that inaccessible spot. Although the amity of worldlings has no fixed centre or constancy, there is this much at least that he has no further intercourse with those people My good brother, changing his garments, set out at once on the road and hastened in that direction Our friend was delighted at the news [P. 271] and cordially welcomed our advent as a piece of good fortune And since it was a time of insecurity, he brought some soldiers[16] with him so that no harm could come to us on the road and we should not be at the mercy of evil-disposed pursuers In the midnight of despair that ready and vigilant friend arrived and conveyed the good tidings of comfort and brought the message of repose On the instant we changed our garments

[16] Lit Turks, but I apprehend the meaning is any guard of armed men They were probably Mughals

and started on our journey and by divers roads arrived at his dwelling He displayed great geniality and did us the highest service and an exceeding contentment was the harbinger of our happiness. For ten days we rested in his house and were safe from the warfare of the world, when suddenly a disaster more overwhelming than the preceding fell upon us from the firmament of fate For, verily, the man was summoned to the royal court, and with the same strong potation with which the second man had been intoxicated, they finished this one's business and he became more hopelessly drunk than the former. He straightway rolled up the parchment of acquaintance.

One night, leaving that place wé came to another friend He welcomed our auspicious arrival as a privilege But as he lived in the vicinity of an evil-disposed and turbulent person, he fell into great bewilderment and exceeding anxiety nearly drove him distracted. When the house was all asleep, we set forth without any definite destination in prospect and however much we thought and pondered we found no resting place and therefore with an agitated heart and minds oppressed with sorrow, we returned to his house Strangely enough the men of the house were not aware that we had left it For a short space we who had severed the cord of reliance on God, took repose and thus forgot our troubles. My brother expressed his opinion that our leaving the place was an impulse of fear not a counsel of wisdom However much I represented to him that the man's vacillation was a sufficient guide and the change of manner in his servants a clear proof, it was of no avail and as the signs of dissatisfaction in our host increased, no other remedy was at hand When that light-headed, improvident and overreaching individual reflected in his mind that these people ignorant of the inconvenience they cause, will take no hint and will not vacate the house, at daybreak without taking counsel with us or saying a kind word, he marched off and his venal servitors loading

their tents took their departure Here were we three left stranded in the wilds, in the neighbourhood of which a cattle-market had been established. A strange predicament it was —no place to abide in—no idea of whither to go—and no veil to conceal us. On every side were double-faced friends, determined enemies, base and cruel men, and time-servers banded together in pursuit, and we sitting in the dust of helplessness, in a wilderness without shelter, with gloomy prospects, in present distress and sunk in prolonged grief However, in any case it was necessary to rise and proceed. Through that concourse of miscreants we passed on, the protection of God hung a veil before the eyes of men, and under the divine assistance and guard we went forth from that place of terror, and abandoning the fears of companionship and all trust in men, we escaped from the reproach of strangers and the God-speed of friends We happened to come upon a garden where some kind of refuge offered itself Our lost vigour returned and our hearts were greatly strengthened And now it suddenly became manifest that some of our graceless pursuers frequented the place Wearied with our search we rested for a while Then [P 272] with minds distracted and outwardly woebegone we came forth In whatever direction we went, some unforeseen calamity filled us with gloom and our places were scarcely warm ere we set forth again in the wilderness of danger, until at length in this restless wandering and blind vagrancy the gardener recognised us and our condition became desperate. We were nigh expiring and resigning the bond of life That good man with many expressions of good will restored our drooping spirits and charitably took us to his house and endeavoured to console us Although my dear brother was still in the same wretched state and every moment grew paler, my spirits on the contrary rose I read the signs of probity in the countenance of that genial person My venerable father himself in communion with God was on the prayer-carpet of prudence

and watched the course of events Some part of the night had passed when the master of the gardener came forward with great cordiality and lengthened the tongue of reproval saying, "What! with such a friend as I am here, do you alight in this place of confusion! Why have you plucked your skirts from me?" and he acted in a manner which we could not have anticipated I answered "In this storm, which is according to an enemy's desire, we sought withdrawal from all our sincere friends and loyal well-wishers lest any injury befall them on this account" He was somewhat confused and said "If you are not contented to stay in my house, let us see what can be done" He indicated to us a place of safety, the appearances of sincerity were evident from his language and following his wish, we chose a quiet nook and there alighted We found here a retreat such as we desired, and from that place we despatched truthful accounts to people of just and commendable dispositions and to faithful friends, and each one became cognizant of our condition and set about remedying it and thus our pulses were quieted

[A noble intercedes for Shaikh Mubārak Akbar summons the Shaikh to his presence]

We remained a little more than a month in that restful place and my good brother went from Agra to Fathpur, meaning when he reached the royal camp, to make our devoted partisans more zealous in our behalf One morning that all-loving and circumspect soul returned with a thousand anxieties and troubles, bringing distressing news It seems that one of the chief nobles and grey-beard elders of the imperial court on the information of these envious wretches, became furious, and without soliciting the usual permission or paying his submissive respects, entered the presence of Majesty with brusqueness and roughly said, "Has the world come to an end or is the day of resurrection at hand that in this court malicious fanatics have their way and good men are confounded? What ordinance is this that we have,

and what ingratitude is this now shown?" My brother who loved peace, acknowledging his good intentions said, "To whom dost thou allude and what dost thou want of this person? Hast thou seen a vision? or is thy brain distracted?" When he mentioned the name, His Majesty was surprised at his wrong impression and said "All the chief men of the day seem determined to persecute and do him to death and have passed judicial decrees against him They give me no peace (P 273) for a moment Although I know that the Shaykh is in such and such a place (mentioning our retreat), I purposely take no notice of it, and I answer each one of them with a rebuke Thou art clamorous without knowing and dost overstep due limits Let some one go to-morrow morning and summon the Shaykh to the presence and an assembly of the divines shall be held" My good brother as soon as he heard of this disturbance came post-hate, and without any one's knowing, as before, we changed our clothes and set out and an anxiety more painful than on any previous occasion of disappointment, filled our minds with misgiving Although it was in some degree evident how far people were in accord with us and what representations had been made by them to His Majesty and the extent of his knowledge of our circumstances,—knowledge that could read the invisible—nevertheless a greater apprehension disquieted us Without our host's being aware, that very morning we began our journey The blazing light of the sun, the dark plots of the wicked, the crush in the streets of the city, the movements of the spies, the absence of friends, the lack of these to share our burdens—what power has a pen of wood to tell but a fraction of this situation? and where even eloquent lips would stammer, what craft can lie in its divided tongue? At last with many heart-sinkings we turned into unbeaten tracks and escaped in some measure the turmoil of the city and the eyes of enemies

[Painful wanderings of Shaikh Mubārak and his sons

in search of a safe refuge—no friend bold enough to shelter them—their privations and residence in hiding.]

Since the condescension of His Majesty had newly become manifest, we now proposed to get together some horses and from those wilds to hasten on to the city of auspiciousness and alight at the residence of a certain person of whose integrity we had had long experience Then perchance this turmoil might abate and the King put forth the hand of clemency Of necessity, then, like prudent men, we prepared the requisites of travel and on a night darker than the minds of the envious and more protracted than the machinations of the vain of speech, we set out on the road Withal the inexperience of the guide and his crooked proceedings, in the dawn of morning we arrived at that gloomy place Our not very cordial host though he did not deny us, yet told such a tale of discomfiture as cannot be expressed, and by way of consideration for us said that the occasion had now passed and that His Majesty's august mind was somewhat irritated, had we come before, there would have been no detriment and our difficulties would easily have been overcome that he could point out a village, in the neighbourhood, in the obscurity of which we might pass a few days until the hallowed pleasure of the King might incline to favour Putting us into a conveyance he sent us off in that direction We became a prey to a variety of sorrows When we reached the spot, the land-proprietor in dependence on whom we had been sent, was absent We alighted without a shelter in that ruin in the midst of civilization The overseer had occasion to read a document and discovering the signs of intelligence in our appearance, he sent for us. As we were pressed for time we hurried along the road of refusal and it shortly appeared that this village belonged to one of those said stony-hearted miscreants The man in his stupidity had sent us here With much disquietude and full of anxiety we flung *ourselves out of the*

[Shaikh Mubarak gives spiritual teaching to young Abul Fazl—takes him to join a party of divines on a grand pilgrimage to the saints' tombs around Delhi, though he disapproved of such ostentation and mystic ecstacies Abul Fazl comes out of his school-boy seclusion into busy society]

About this time my venerable father went on a pilgrimage to holy Delhi and took me with him, accompanied by some of the disciples of his saintly conferences Since the time he had taken up his abode in the metropolis he was so much absorbed in spiritual contemplation in that hermitage of light that he had had no leisure to observe the marvels of the earth Suddenly this desire took possession of his heart and he loosened the skirt of resolve, and honouring me with unique consideration, he made me, who over and above the earthly bonds of sonship was attached by spiritual ties, a partaker of his secret

To recount briefly, once at early dawn, when his heart was lifted up to heaven and he was upon the carpet of praise and supplication, between sleeping and waking, Khwājah Qutbuddin U'shi and Nizāmu'ddin Awliyā appeared to him, and upon this numerous divines gathered together and a conference was held for consultation as to what it was advisable to do, and it was proposed to visit their tombs by way of propitiation (of the spirits of the two saints) immediately and there perform a religious ceremonial after their ordinances [17] My venerable father after the manner of his saintly ancestors, preserved an exact outward decorum and indulged not in the hearing of songs nor the vanity of silk attire, and did not approve of the ecstasies of music and dance affected by the Sufis He spoke against the followers of this practice and he used constantly to say that on the assumption of the in-

[17] The text (p. 273) reads *bazm-i-masālihat ārāstah āmad,* which Jarrett translates as "a feast of reconciliation was celebrated" I suggest the emendation *maslihat* (=advice, consultation) and take *bazm* to be Abul Fazl's usual bombast for an ordinary meeting My other changes here are consequential (J Sarkar)

difference between rich and poor, praise and blame, earth and gold, which was one of the principles on which this system proceeded, it contained within itself the volatility of unrest and he regarded it as a place of backsliding unto the wise He commanded a rigid abstention therefrom, withdrew from it himself and restrained his friends But, in truth, on this night, these slumberers on the couch of vigilance who looked on this ceremony as they would on their last journey, went into such exhaustive proof of the innocence of their intention and the morality of the act that they carried away the concurrence of my father In that happy journey many of the tombs of those who sleep in that land of roses were passed, and hearts were filled with light, and blessings were vouchsafed (whereof if the narrative were detailed, men would regard it as an idle fiction and in suspicion might impute the stain of sin), until I was carried from the hermitage of seclusion to the court of wordly intercourse and the gate of prosperity was opened and I obtained the summit of distinction The condition of the inebriate with greed and those who were a prey to envy became gloomy and my heart was pained and compassionated their confusion I made a steadfast vow to the Almighty and I promised myself that the wronging of these blind souls who are as a lamp without light and an invisible sign, should be effaced from the path of my upright heart and I would allow no feeling but kindness to enter therein By the aid of the grace of God I enforced this resolve and gained new satisfaction and my mind new vigour Men abandoning evil-doing took to sociability and drew the breath of repose My venerable father occupied himself in admonition and exposed the quarrelsomeness, the crooked ways, the untruth and the unworthiness of men and enjoined the chastisement of evil-doers I was inclined to be reticent about speaking of these close secrets and was ashamed to reply to my venerable father Eventually I was compelled to represent what had

happened to him to His Majesty and relieved the ebullition of my father's spirit Many of his anxieties were now relieved and his long open wounds were healed

[P. 276] To make a long story short, when the imperial standards advanced to the capital of Lahore for reasons of state, and my heart was sore at parting from that preceptor of truth, in the thirty-second year of the reign, corresponding with the lunar year 995 (A D 1586-87), I invited his gracious visit On the 23rd of the 3rd month (Khurdād) of the Divine Era and the thirty-second year of the reign, coinciding with Saturday, the 6th of Rajab of the above lunar year (31st May, 1586), that knower of all things material and spiritual fulfilling my desire, cast the shadow of his beneficence on me who though engaged in the world preferred solitude, and honoured me by special kindnesses He ever found delight in seclusion, and renouncing all else passed his days in self introspection and in the renovation of the ever-capricious spirit.

Inasmuch as he troubled himself little about worldly knowledge, his conversation was always regarding the essence and attributes of God and he took heedful warning and led an independent life apart and gathered the skirts of liberation of spirit until his august health lost its elementary equilibrium Although he had often suffered in the same way before, he learnt on this occasion, that it was his last journey and summoning this bewildered creature addressed me in words of salutary advice and went through the last obligations of farewell As all that he said was between us alone and he shared with me in confidence his inmost thoughts, I kept down my anguish of heart and with many efforts commanded some self-restraint and by the miraculous efficacy of that leader in the world of sanctity, to some extent was calm After seven days, in full consciousness and at the very dawn of the 24th of the 5th month (*Amurdād*) of the Divine Era, on the 17th of Zi'lqaadah, A H 1001[18] (Tuesday,

4th August, 1593) he passed into the gardens of paradise The luminary of the firmament of knowledge became obscured and the light of an understanding that knew God grew dim The back of Learning was bowed and the days of Wisdom itself passed away Jupiter withdrew his robe from his head and Mercury destroyed his pen.[19]

Gone from the world is he its peerless sage
That to its gaze oped Wisdom's heavenly page
Where shall his orphaned kin such marvel find,
The Adam and Messiah of his kind!

This has been to some extent evidenced in what has gone before

[Abul Fazl's birth—his early intellectual brilliancy—diversified education—hard study for ten years]

As I have now recounted somewhat of my ancestors, I proceed to say a few words regarding myself and thus unburden my mind, in order to refresh this narrative and loosen the bonds of my tongue In the year 473 of the Jalāli era, corresponding to the night of Sunday, the 6th of Muharram 958 of the lunar reckoning (14th January 1551), my pure spirit joined to this elemental body came forth from the womb into this fair expanse of the world At a little over one year I had the miraculous gift of fluent speech and at five years of age I had acquired an unusual stock of information [P 277] and could both read and write At the age of seven I became the treasurer of my father's stores of knowledge and a trusty keeper of the jewels of hidden meaning and as a serpent,[20] guarded the treasure And it was strange

[18] In the Biography of Abul Fazl (Vol I xviii) Blochmann gives the date as the 4th September, but this cannot be, as the year 1001 began on Monday, 28th September 1592, and Zi l Hijjah follows Zi'lqaadah

[19] The office of Jupiter in the Oriental planetary system is supposed to be that of a Qāzi, and the robe represents his official dignity Mercury is the heavenly scribe

[20] The Oriental legend of the fabulous guardianship of buried treasure by a serpent has its parallel in the myth of the Hesperides

that by a freak of fortune my heart was disinclined, my will ever averse, and my disposition repugnant to conventional learning and the ordinary courses of instruction. Generally I could not understand them. My father in his way conjured with the spell of knowledge and taught me a little of every branch of science, and although my intelligence grew, I gained no deep impressions from the school of learning Sometimes I understood nothing at all, at others doubts suggested themselves which my tongue was incapable of explaining Either shame made me hesitate or I had not the power of expression I used to weep in public and put all the blame upon myself In this state of things I came into fellowship of mind with a congenial helper and my spirit recovered from that ignorance and incomprehension Not many days had elapsed before his conversation and society induced me to go to college and there they restored to rest my bewildered and dissipated mind and by the wondrous working of destiny they took me away and brought another back

The temple as I entered, drew they nigh
And brought their gift, a wine-cup brimming high
Its strength snatched all my senses, self from self,
Wherein some other entered and not I

The truths of philosophy and the subtleties of the schools now appeared plain, and a book which I had never before seen gave me a clearer insight than any thing I could read Although I had a special gift which came down upon me from the throne of holiness, yet the inspirations of my venerable father and his making me commit to memory the essential elements of every branch of science, together with the unbroken continuity of this chain, were of immense help, and became one of the most important causes of my enlightenment. For ten years longer I made no distinction between night and day, teaching and learning, and recognized no difference between satiety and hunger, nor discriminated

between privacy and society, nor had I the power to dissever pain from pleasure I acknowledged nothing else but the bond of demonstration and the tie of knowledge. Those who had a regard for my constitution, from seeing that two and sometimes three days passed without my taking food, and that my studious spirit had no inclination therefor, were amazed, and stood out strongly against it I answered that my withdrawal was now a matter of habit and custom, and how was it that no one was astonished when the natural inclination of a sick man on an attack of illness was averse from food If therefore my love of study induced forgetfulness, where was the wonder? Most of the current arguments of the schools, frequently misquoted and misunderstood when heard, and abstruse questions from ancient works, had been presented to the fresh tablet of my mind. Before these points had been elucidated and the attribution to me of extreme ignorance had passed to that of transcendent knowledge, I had taken objection to ancient writers, and men learning my youth, dissented, and my mind was troubled and my inexperienced heart was in agitation Once in the early part of my career they brought the gloss of Khwājah Abu'l Qāsim, on the *Mutawwal*[21] All that I had stated before learned doctors and divines of which [P 278] some of my friends had taken notes, was there found, and those present were astounded and withdrew their dissent, and began to regard me with other eyes and to raise the wicket of misunderstanding and to open the gate of comprehension In my early days of study, the gloss of Isfahāni more than half of which had

[21] *Commentarius longior*, the name of a celebrated commentary of Saadu'ddin Masaud-b-U'marat-Taftāzāni (died A H 792, A D 1389) on the *Talkhisu'l Miftāh* of Shaykh and Imam Jalālu'ddin Mahmud-b-'Abdu'r Rahmān al-Qazwini ash-Shāfiai (died A H 739 A D 1338) The latter work is on the analysis of grammatical signification and the explanatory science, *i e*, rhetoric Hāji Khalifah devotes several pages to its detail and the glosses that have been written on it and on its commentary, the Mutawwal That referred to the text is by Abu'l Qāsim-b-Abi Bakr al-Laithi as-Samarqandi

been eaten by white ants, came under my observation The public being in despair at profiting by it, I removed the parts that had been eaten and joined blank paper to the rest In the serene hours of morning, with a little reflection, I discovered the beginnings and endings of each fragment and conjecturally penned a draft text which I transcribed on the paper In the meanwhile the entire work was discovered, and when both were compared, in two or three places only were there found differences of words, though synonymous in meaning, and in three or four others, (differing) citations but approximate in sense All were astounded

[Abul Fazl's strange mental disturbance at the age of twenty]

The more my will was engaged, the more my mind was illumined At the age of twenty the good tidings of my independence reached me My mind cast off its former bonds and my early bewilderment recurred With a parade of much learning, the intoxication of youth effervescing, the skirts of pretension spread wide, and the world-displaying cup of wisdom in my hand, the ringings of delirium began to sound in my ears, and suggested a total withdrawal from the world Meanwhile the wise prince-regnant called me to mind and drew me from my obscurity, somewhat of which I have in its entirety and somewhat but approximately suggested and acknowledged Here my coin has been tested and its full weight passed into currency Men now view me with a different regard, and many effusive speeches have been made amid felicitous congratulations evoked

On this day which is the last of the 42nd year of His Majesty's reign (A D 1598), my spirit again breaks away from its yoke and a new solicitude arises within me

My songster heart knows not King David's strains
Let it go free—'tis no bird for a cage

I know not how it will all end nor in what resting-place my last journey will have to be made, but from the beginning

of my existence until now the grace of God has continuously kept me under its protection It is my firm hope that my last moments may be spent in doing His will and that I may pass unburdened to eternal rest

[Thirty-two ways in which Abul Fazl has derived benefits from the grace of God]

As the enumeration of the benefits of God is one way of expressing gratitude therefor, I here set down a few of these and invigorate my spirit —

The *first* blessing which I possessed was in belonging to a noble family It may be hoped that the virtue of my ancestors may atone for my unworthiness and prove a restoration in allaying the turbulence of my spirit, as pain by medicine, fire by water, heat by cold, and a lover by the sight of his beloved

The *second*, the prosperity of the age and the general security of the times As eminent men of old have belauded the justice of strangers, what wonder if I glory in the puissance of the monarch of the visible and invisible worlds

The *third*, the happy fortune that brought me from the womb of fate into so happy a time when the august shadow of majesty has fallen upon me [P 279]

The *fourth*, my noble birth on both sides Somewhat of my father has already been said What shall I write of her, (my mother), the fragrance of chastity? She possessed all the noble qualities of men and always adorned her precious hours with good works She united modesty with strength of character, and her words were in accord with her deeds

The *fifth*, soundness of limbs, proportionate balance of powers and their conformity

The *sixth*, a long ministering unto those two blessed personages It was a fortress against outward and inward disasters, and a fence against material and spiritual calamities

The *seventh*, excellent health, and the antidote of bodily vigour

The *eighth*, a good house.

The *ninth*, freedom from care as to means, and happy circumstances.

The *tenth*, a daily increasing delight in doing the will of my parents

The *eleventh*, the kindness of a father which beyond the ambition of the times loaded me with many bounties and distinguished me as the true patriarch of his house

The *twelfth*, prayerfulness at the throne of God

The *thirteenth*, imploring the favours of pious ascetics and true seekers of wisdom

The *fourteenth*, a perpetual guiding grace

The *fifteenth*, the collection of books on sciences Without dishonourable curiosity I became acquainted with the tenets of all creeds, and my spirit was weary of their multitude

The *sixteenth*, the constant incitement to study on the part of my father and his restraining me from dissipating thoughts

The *seventeenth*, virtuous companions

The *eighteenth*, a material love, ordinarily the disturber of households and an earthquake of moral obligations, guided me to the goal of perfection. This wonder fills me every moment with a new astonishment and from time to time I am lost in amazement.

The *nineteenth*, the service of His Majesty which is a new birth and fresh happiness

The *twentieth*, the recovery from my arrogant presumption through the grace of His Majesty's service

The *twenty-first*, attaining to a perfect peace through blessings of the august condescension For some turned from speech to silence, others [P 280] joined in harmony with the upright of all sects, and for the remaining evil-doers, their penitence being accepted, a reconciliation was brought about May Almighty God remove the impressions of evil by the rays of knowledge

The *twenty-second,* my spiritual intercourse with the King of all those that know God

The *twenty-third,* the raising of me up by His wise Majesty and the bestowal upon me of his confidence without the recommendation of men or my own seeking

The *twenty-fourth,* the possession of brethren wise, virtuous, and seeking the pleasure of others

[His brothers]

Of my eldest brother what shall I say? who notwithstanding his spiritual and worldly perfections, took no step without my concurrence, indiscreet as I am, and devoting himself to my interests, advanced my promotion and was an aid to good intentions In his poems he speaks of me in a manner which I cannot sufficiently acknowledge, as he says in his Eulogium

My verse may share both great and little worth,
Its theme sublime—I lowlier than the earth
A father's virtues shall it far proclaim
And vaunt the glory of a brother's fame,
He, touchstone of all wisdom, who inspires
My strain with sweetness that a world admires,
If through a riper age, I pass him by,
In merit, centuries between us lie
What though the branching savin taller grows,
What gardener mates its beauty with the rose?

He was born in the Jalālī year 469, corresponding to A H 954 (A D 1547) In what tongue shall I indite his praise? In this work I have already written of him[22] and poured forth the anguish of my heart, and quenched its furnace with the water of narration and broken the dam of its torrents and alleviated my want of resignation His works which are the scales of eloquence and penetration and the lawns of the birds of song, praise him and speak his perfections and recall his virtues

[22] See Vol I p 548.

Another was Shaykh Abu'l Barakāt He was born on the night of the 6th of *Mihr Māh* (September) of the Jalālī year 475, corresponding to the night of the 17th Shawwāl, A H 960 (25th September 1553) Although he has not attained to any high distinction in learning, he has nevertheless a considerable share of erudition, and in knowledge of affairs and as a military leader and for his practical sagacity he is considered one of the foremost He is especially distinguished for his goodness of disposition, his reverence for holy men, and his benevolence

Another was Shaykh Abu'l Khayr He was born on the 10th of *Isfandārmus* (February) in the fourth year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to Monday, the 22nd of Jumāda I, A H 967 (18th February 1560) The highest morals and most excellent qualities distinguished his disposition He understood the temper of the times and kept his tongue like all his other members under the command of reason

[P 281] The next was Shaykh Abu'l Makārim His birth took place on the night of the 1st of *Urdibihisht* (April) in the 14th year of His Majesty's reign, corresponding to Monday, the 23rd of Shawwāl, A H 976 (9th April 1569) Although at first he was a little unruly, the miraculous efficacy of my venerable father's will brought him back to the path of duty and rectitude and he read much of philosophy and tradition under that discerner of the mysteries of the spiritual and material worlds Somewhat before his study of the ancient philosophers he read with Amir Fath u'llah Shirāzi [23] He walks with circumspection and I trust he may reach the goal of his desire

The next was Shaykh Abu Turāb He was born on the 1st of *Bahman Māh* (January), in the 29th year of the reign corresponding to Friday, 23rd of Zi'l Hijjah, A H 988 (27th

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[23] See Vol I p 33 Vol II p 30

January 1581). Although he was by another mother, he has the happiness of being admitted to court and occupies himself in the acquisition of all perfections

The next was Shaykh Abu'l Hāmid He was born on the 6th of *Day Māh* (December) the 30th of the reign, corresponding to Monday the 3rd Rabii' II., A H 1002 (17th December 1593)

The next was Shaykh Abu Rāshid He was born on the 5th of *Bahman Māh i Ilāhi* (January), the 23rd year of the reign corresponding with Monday, 1st of Jumāda I of the same year (12th January 1594)

Although these (last) two scions of the house of prosperity are of concubines, they bear on their countenances the marks of good breeding That illustrious sage when informed of their coming birth, fixed the names they were to bear Before they were born he died I hope that through his inestimable prayers, fortune may wait on happiness and that they may become the recipients of numerous favours

Although my elder brother is dead and has thrown the world into mourning, I pray that the other nurslings of joy may attain to long life in glad prosperity and the fruition both of this world and the next and be blessed with good things temporal and spiritual.

The *twenty-fifth*, my marriage into an honourable house and a family distinguished for learning and the respect in which it was held This gave my outward person credit and was as a leading rein to my unruly spirit, Hindu, Kashmiri and Persian wives were occasions of great joy to me

The *twenty-sixth*, the blessing of a dear and virtuous son. He was born on the night of the 18th of *Day Māh* (December) in the 16th year of the reign, corresponding to Monday night, the 12th Shabān 979 (29th December 1571) My father named him Abdu'r Rahmān Although he is of Hindustani extraction, he has the Greek temperament and is fond of study, has much experience of the good and evil

of life, and his countenance displays the marks of a happy fortune. His Majesty has allied him in marriage with his foster family [24]

[P 282] The *twenty-seventh*, the sight of a grandson On the night of the 30th of the month of *Amurdād Māh i Ilāhi* in the 30th year of the reign corresponding with Friday, 3rd Zi'l Qaadah 999 (13th August 1591), in an auspicious moment, this child of happy destiny appeared and the favour of God became manifest. His Majesty gave this sapling in the garden of felicity the name of Bishutan It is my hope that he may be blessed with the highest perfections of nature and grace and attain to the fruition of eternal bliss

The *twenty-eighth*, a love for the study of moral treatises

The *twenty-ninth*, the knowledge of the rational soul For many years I had studied the principles of ontology and physics and had conversed much with the professors of these two sciences and all the proofs by indagation and evidence, inductive and occular, had come under my observation Still the path of doubt remained unclosed and my mind was not satisfied By the blessing of faith this difficulty was solved and I became convinced that the rational soul is a subtile divine essence separate from the body, having, however, a peculiar union with this elemental form.

The *thirtieth*, that from high principle, the awe of the great in place has never withheld me from speaking the truth nor interfered with my pursuit of knowledge and light, nor the fear of ruin to property, life and reputation made me falter in this resolution, thus my course has run on like a flowing stream.

The *thirty-first*, indifference to wordly considerations.

The *thirty-second*, the grace to complete this work. Although the motive of this divine book is the praise of God which I have proclaimed with a tongue under the spell of

[24] "Akbar married him to the daughter of Saādat Yār Kokah's brother" Blochmann Vol I xxxv

a daily increasing felicity and gratitude for His favours expressed by the language of my pen, nevertheless it is the fountain head of various knowledge and a mine of wisdom to many. To industrious workers it is a guide, and the triflers and gay will find their portion therein. To youth it will be a source of pleasure, to manhood a cause of pride. The stricken in years will there find the experience of ages, and those who lavish the silver and the gold of this world will therein recognise the ordinances of manly fortitude. To the jewel of perspicacity it is a glad weighing-place, to the grasses of freedom, a fertile soil. It is the wicket of the laboratory of skill for the morn of felicity, the deep sea of creation's gem. The favored who seek for fame will in it find the road thereto, and the godly who pursue truth will rejoice in the custody of the volume of their deeds. Merchants of every kind of ware will learn the ways of profit, and champions in the arena of valour will read therein the tablets of heroism. Those who mortify the flesh for the edification of the spirit will take therefrom the institutes of virtue, and the blessed and sincere of heart will gather thence treasures without end, while those who repose in the pleasant vales of truth will by its means attain to their desire.

A wondrous work herein behold
That wisdom's treasures all enfold,
So fair upon its page they show
That he who reads shall wiser grow.

These various benefits announce the good tidings which my heart hears in gladness that the conclusion of my task will make for goodness and avail me unto everlasting bliss.

[Abul Fazl was both hated and admired.] [P. 283]

Although the son of Mubārak is at the present time the object of resentment and held up as a warning to mankind, and a strife of love and hate is kindled in his regard, the worshippers of God who seek truth give him the name

of Abu'l Wahdat,[25] and account him a unique servant of the Supreme Giver. The valourous in the field of bravery style him Abu'l Himmat and deem him one of the wonders of carnal self-denial. Wisdom proclaims him Abul-Fitrat, and considers him a choice specimen of that sublime house In the writings of the vulgar herd which are noisy dens of ignorance, some attribute wordliness to him and hold him to be one of those plunged into this whirlpool, while others regard him as given up to scepticism and apostacy, and band together in reproof and condemnation.

Of me a hundred fictions rumoured fly,
And the world stares if I a word reply

God be praised that I am not moved from these honourable dispositions by watching the strange vicissitudes of life, nor turn from well-wishing both to those who blame and those who commend, and defile not my tongue with reproof or praise.

The dullard's eye to sterling merit dim,
True ring of minted gold tells nought to him
Worth must from noble souls unhidden blaze,
As from the moon her light, from Jupiter his rays

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[25] The Father of Unity, *i e*, professing the unity of God, instead of Abu'l Fazl, the father of bounty Abu'l Himmat signifies the father of resolution, and Abu'l Fitrat, the father of understanding

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